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RUSSIAN HISTORY

by

A. S. RAPPOPORT, Ph.D.

IVAN THE TERRIBLE

'Thou hast shed the blood of innocent men, ô Tzar,
And slain the mighty ones of Israel.'

Andrew Kurbski's Letter

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RUSSIAN HISTORY

BY A·S RAPPOPORT

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Diesem Ambos vergleich 'ich das Land, den Hammer dem Herrscher
Und dem Volke das Blech, das in der Mitte sich krümmt
Wehe dem armen Blech, wenn nur willkürliche Schläge
Ungewiss treffen, und nie fertig der Kessel erscheint.

GOETHE. (Epigramme.)

L'expérience des temps est nulle pour nous ;
les âges et les générations se sont écoulés
pour nous sains fruit.

PETER TSHADAEFF.

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PREFACE

THE great struggle between Russia and Japan is approaching its close, but the additional interest in the Empire of the Tsar awakened by it has not yet diminished in this country. In spite of this interest, however, I felt somewhat reluctant to write a Primer of Russian history, in which, owing to exigencies of space, I should be compelled to limit my narrative to bare facts, and to omit anything of a philosophical character. I venture to think that if the knowledge of history is to be useful in any way, the narrated events must serve as illustrations, or as explanations of movements and currents of thought in the past, and as a prognostic of the future. It is with a view to her future that the English reader chiefly takes an interest in Russia's past. He wishes to gauge Russia's potentialities, to get a glimpse of her aspirations, and of the place she is likely to occupy in European civilisation. Dry, simple facts, a compilation of events in chronological order, a string of names, of kings and battles, appear almost useless, or at least barren knowledge, if they do not teach us something more than the mere fact. 'It is almost better to know nothing of history,' says Frederick Harrison, 'than to know with the narrow coldness of a pedant a record which ought to fill us with emotion and reverence.'

What is the use, therefore, one might ask, to know when Ivan IV. lived, or how Catherine II. came to the throne? In how far will the knowledge of these events give us the clue to Russia's future? I have, to some extent, answered this question elsewhere. 'Historical events,' I wrote,[1] 'do not fashion a people's character, but, on the contrary, history in itself is a result engendered by the mentality of a race. It is this mentality which models and shapes a nation's history, its past, its present, and its future.' The course, therefore, a nation has taken during its past will give us some idea of its future.

[1] Cf. *Monthly Review*, April 1905.

Although I have limited myself to the bare narrative of events, I hope to have grouped the facts in such a way as to show the general reader—for whom this little book is intended—the connection between them. I hope to have made it clear to him that Russian history is not a chaos of accidental events, which the nation has suffered, but that it bears the trait of unity in it; that Russia's political condition is not the result of an oppressive government, but, on the contrary, that the latter is the logical outcome of the nation's character. Religion, political institutions, civilisation, as well as the long line of autocrats, are so many manifestations of the nation's mind.

If my views have been tinted with the sombre hue of pessimism, I crave indulgence. I have told, here and there, 'bitter truth, but without bitterness.' Quite the reverse, I shall be only too happy to see the Russian nation, in a moment of sublime self-assertion and of superabundance of revolutionary strength, awake from the deadly torpor into which it has been lulled, shake off the chains of bondage, break the shackles of thraldom, and turn over a new leaf in its history.[1] But—such is my conviction—the Tsar will never grant political freedom. The nation must take it. Will it do so? I doubt it—and yet I ardently wish it.

The authorities I have made use of for this little book have been mentioned throughout the text, but a classified list has been added, which, it is hoped, the student will find useful. I have been guided, in the grouping of facts, especially by Ilovaisky's Russian history. I must also acknowledge my indebtedness, for some suggestions, to Professor Morfill's excellent history. Finally, I must thank Mr M. J. Landa, and Miss M. Edwardes for their kindness in reading the final proofs.

A. S. R.

[1] *Cf.* A. S. Rappoport, 'The Intellectual Development of Russia.' H. S. Williams, *Historians' History of the World*, 1904, vol. xvii., p. 78.

June 1905.

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HISTORY OF RUSSIA

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHY AND ETHNOLOGY

§ 1. ***The Country and the People.***—The vast Russian Empire occupies the Eastern half of Europe and the whole of North and Central Asia. It extends over an area exceeding 8,600,000 square miles, thus representing a territory one-sixth of the land-surface of the globe. It stretches from the Arctic Ocean to the Caspian and Black Seas, to China, Bokhara, Afghanistan, Persia and Turkestan, and from the Baltic to the Pacific. While Western Europe is traversed by mountain ranges, Russia is a flat land.

The mountains of Russia are confined to her Asiatic territory. With the exception of the North-Eastern boundary, the Ural Range,[1] the Caucasian Range with the Elbruz, and the Crimean Chain of the Yailas, the whole of European Russia is a vast plain. The result of her geographical position and the contour of the country is a diversity of climate and great contrasts of the seasons. If, however, the Empire of the Tsar is destitute of mountain ranges, it is well endowed with lakes and rivers, which were and still are the great means of communication, and along which have been borne the tides of commerce and conquest. The Dnieper, the Dniester, the Don, and especially the Volga, known in Russian folklore as the 'Mother Volga,' which discharges itself into the Caspian Sea, are the principal rivers.

[1] *Ural* signifies girdle.

The density of the population is unequal, and the Empire is most thickly populated in the Middle, Western and South-Western parts of European Russia. The whole population amounted in 1897 to 129 millions, and in 1902 to 140 millions. Statistical comparisons have made it evident that the natural increase of the population is two millions per annum. In a quarter of a century, therefore, the population of Russia will reach nearly 200 millions.

§ 2. The question concerning the races inhabiting this vast Empire, and the origin of the element that forms the Russian nationality, has not yet been elucidated. The origin of our race is lost in perfect mystery, say many Russians. De Vogué[1] has graphically described this uncertainty of the ethnical origin of the Russians. 'The mysterious sources of India and Asia, flowing through dark regions for centuries, have swelled this troubled river. One day, and it seems to have been only yesterday, it suddenly came to light, but no one knows whence these silent waters emerged. All the restless elements that have been tossed about—ever since the times of Babylon—between the Icy and the Pacific Oceans, between the Caucasus and the Altai, have suddenly gathered and sunk into silence on our unknown deserts. Look at those two Russian types; to judge from their features, the one descends directly from the plateau of Pamir, and the other from Mongolia. The Russian race? Who has ever spoken of ours? The Bible says: Gog and Magog. Herodotus knows the Scythians, the most recent among all the nations: nobody could say anything about them with certitude, dwelling to the north of the inhabited regions, invisible and unapproachable. That is what the old world knows about us. The new world ignores us for a thousand years, and when one day it makes up its mind to inquire after Gog and Magog, the Scythian and the Hyperborean, 80,000,000 unknown individuals suddenly arise and say, "My name is Ivan Ivanovich, that is all I know."'[2] In spite of this description of the ethnical origin of Russia, the

[1] *Cœurs Russes.* [2] *Cf.* De Vogué, *Cœurs Russes*, p. 18.

constituting races have now been pretty well ascertained and defined.

During the Stone Age, Russia was undoubtedly inhabited by various races mostly dolichocephalic. The ancient Scythians, as represented on Greek vases, are dolichocephalic. It is also most probable that the Scandinavian race was predominant in Novgorod and the North of Russia. The ancient inhabitants, whose skeletons and crania, together with bronze objects, have been discovered in the Scythian tombs and kourgans are considered by many Russian scholars as the real Slavs and ancestors of the present-day Russians. These occupants of Russia, however, were of Scandinavian or Germanic origin.

The people that erected the tombs, or kourgans, found on Russian soil, correspond most probably with the Scythians mentioned by Greek authors. When the great migrations of the Barbars put an end to the Scythian period, their place was taken by the Goths. The Goths, towards the third century, left their abodes on the Baltic and invaded the regions near the Carpathians, the Danube, the Dnieper, and the Dniester; they were followed a little later by Visigoths and Ostrogoths.

The Goths in their turn evacuated Russia at the invasion of Attila and his Huns, who spread over almost all the territory known to-day as Russia. The Huns, however, on account of their nomadic propensities left no permanent traces after them. It was only after the passage of these Asiatic hordes that the struggle began between the Slavs, coming from the Carpathians, and the numerous tribes of Turkish origin: Khazars, Petshenegs, and Polovtzy, settled in Russia. The Slavs, establishing themselves in the centre and the North, absorbed the Finnish elements and laid the foundations of the present Russian people. This ethnical element may be divided into three parts—the White Russian, the Great Russian, and the Little Russian or the Ruthenian.

The two former constitute the real Russian people, and the two capitals, Moscow and St. Petersburg, are situated in their territory. In spite of the many admixtures with tribes

of Tartar blood and with some descendants of the autochthones, who erected the kourgans or tombs, the great mass of present day Russians consists of two chief elements—the Celto-Slavonic and the Finnish. The Russian race, in spite of many contradictions, is homogeneous. Scandinavian and Teutonic blood has been added to it from time to time, but the influence has not been great, and considering the rate at which the people continually increase, the Scandinavian and Teutonic elements have exercised only a very small influence upon the great bulk of the population.

The Slavonic race, forming the nucleus of the Russian inhabitants and divided into the Great, White, and Little Russians, amounted in 1896 to more than 78,000,000. There are, besides, other Slavonic nationalities in Russia, as Poles, Bulgarians, Serbs, Chekhs, Letto-Lithuanians, and also other Aryan (non-Slavonic) nationalities, as Swedes, Germans, Armenians, etc.

Besides the Celto-Slavs and Finns or Tshouds the next great elements of the population are the following: the Turco-Tartar-Mongol races, the Caucasian (non-Aryan) races, and the Semitic element consisting mostly of Jews. The number of nationalities has been calculated at 142.

CHAPTER II

THE VARANGIANS

§ 1. ***Rurik.***—Russian history begins with a remarkable and almost unique event in the annals of nations. Of their own freewill the Slavs abandoned their ancient popular government and asked their conquerors, the Varangians, to rule over them. This event has been criticised by recent Russian historians, who treat it as a legend.

There is no reason, however, to deny this fact, nor to regard it as astonishing. The words which were addressed by the British envoys to Hengist and Horsa were almost the same as

those of the Slavonic ambassadors who bore the invitation to the Norman princes.[1]

To mitigate the humiliation of conquest the chronicler, some historians maintain, invented the legend of the invitation received by the Vikings. Others, however, like the historian Karamsin, see in it the real character of the Slavs who have always hankered after monarchical government.

It appears that at the advice of the Possadnik or Alderman of Novgorod a deputation in the name of the four tribes (Slavs, Krivitshes, Vesses and Tshouds) was sent to the Vikings, to whom they addressed the famous words :—'Our country is large and rich, but there is no order in it; come and rule over us.' Three Norse brothers, Rurik, Sineus and Trouvor, accepted this invitation and with their warlike suites or *droosheena*, crossed the Baltic and established themselves on the confines of the country which they had been invited to rule and to protect. Rurik settled in the town of Ladoga on the banks of the Volkhof, Sineus in Byelvosersk in the country of the Vess people, and Trouvor in Isborsk. The relations existing between the three brothers are not known. Two years after their arrival among the Slavs (864) Sineus and Trouvor died (whether owing to natural causes or not can only be conjectured) and Rurik, uniting the dominions of his brothers with his own, laid the foundation of the Russian monarchy. Rurik then established himself in Novgorod, where he built a strong castle. He also brought under his authority the neighbouring districts of Polotsk and Rostof, where he settled scions of his house as his representatives. The rumours, however, of wealth and the craving for adventure drove some of his followers, famous Varangians, not of Rurik's kin, to leave Novgorod and to go out in search of plunder and adventure on their own account.

§ 2. ***The Origin of Kief.***—Thus two of Rurik's countrymen, Askold and Dir, broke away from the Viking

[1] Terram latam et Spatiosam et omnium rerum copia refertam vestrae mandant uitioni parere.

Chief and went along the Dnieper, probably with the intention of reaching Tsaregrad or Constantinople and entering the service of the Greek Emperors. On their way, however, they came to a small town situated on the high banks of the Dnieper. This was Kief. The two Norse brothers took possession of the town and began to rule there as independent princes. Having thus established themselves in Kief, Askold and Dir undertook an expedition against Constantinople or Tsaregrad. The legend relates that great consternation arose among the inhabitants when these enemies appeared before the walls of Byzantium. Michael III., the hero of his time, dared not oppose the enemies by force. Then the Patriarch Photius came to the rescue. He removed the robe of the Holy Virgin in the famous Chapel of Blacherne, carried it to the shores and dipped it in the water. And lo! suddenly a storm arose, spreading confusion among the enemy. Overawed by this miracle, Askold and Dir, with many of their followers, embraced Christianity. So it was that in their time cloisters and churches were built in Kief. Rurik died in 879, leaving a son, Igor.

§ 3. ***Oleg.***—His son Igor being still very young, Rurik entrusted the government of the country to his relative, Prince Oleg, a wise and enterprising ruler. His first step was to weld together the Varangian possessions. Gathering a large army he embarked, following the course of the Dnieper southwards, until he came to Kief, where, as has been pointed out, reigned the two brothers Askold and Dir as independent princes. Oleg killed the two princes and established himself in Kief, making the town his capital. The chronicler Nestor relates that Oleg resorted to stratagem. Leaving his army behind, he approached the town with a small following and pretended that they were Varangian merchants going to Greece, who wished to have an interview with Askold and Dir. The unsuspecting princes walked into the trap and were soon surrounded by Oleg's followers. Oleg then exclaimed: 'You are neither princes nor of

princely blood; I am a prince and'—pointing to Igor—'here is the son of Rurik.'[1]

Oleg then subjugated many of the neighbouring tribes, the Drevlyans, the Krivitshes, and others, uniting almost the whole country under his sway. The conquered tribes were put under heavy taxation, (Novgorod paid a yearly tribute of about 300 greevny, or 150 pounds silver). In 903 Oleg chose a wife for his ward Igor; her name was Olga and she was brought to Kief from Pskof or Pleskau.

It appears that Olga was not noble by birth, but was distinguished for grace and intellectual accomplishments. Oleg also undertook an invasion into the Greek Empire, and was even bold enough to attack Constantinople itself. He compelled the Emperor to pay a heavy tribute, and concluded a treaty with the Greeks by which the Russian merchants were granted free commercial intercourse with Constantinople. Oleg then returned to Kief, his boats heavily laden with rich booty, and himself covered with glory. The reputation of his bravery and wisdom travelled far and wide, and he became known as The Wise (*Vyeshtshee*). Legend has endeavoured to embellish his very death. According to tradition a wizard predicted to Oleg that his death would be due to his horse. The prince ordered his servants to look after the horse, but never to bring it to him. 'I shall never ride it,' he said. Years passed, when he suddenly remembered the horse, and on being informed that it was dead, he expressed the wish to see its carcase. But on putting his foot on the dead animal, with an expression of scorn for the magician's prediction on his lips, a snake suddenly crept out from the skull and bit the prince. He died of the wound in 912.

§ 4. ***Igor*** (912-945).—Igor then took over the principality which had been bequeathed to him by his father and consolidated by Oleg. His reign was not distinguished by

[1] The two adventurers were killed and the town of Kief, on account of its pleasant situation, took the conqueror's fancy to such a degree that he exclaimed: 'Henceforth Kief will be the mother of all Russian cities,' and it thus became the capital of the country.

any great conquests. The Drevlyans revolted, refusing payment of the tribute, but Swineld, Igor's chieftain, subdued them, and the district was then entrusted to him for government. It was also during the reign of Igor that the Petshenegs, a Finno-Turkish tribe, akin to the Kirghises, made their first invasion upon Kief. Igor also undertook two expeditions against the Greeks. The first expedition ended in a complete failure (owing, as it seems, to the use made by the enemy of the Greek fire). The second expedition led to a new treaty being concluded; the advantages, however, which accrued from it were not so favourable as those of the first. Igor met his death in the country of the Drevlyans. His *droosheena*, or retinue, dissatisfied, as it appears, with inaction at the Court, persuaded the old prince to set out against the Drevlyans in order to exact a new levy and gather an increased tribute. The Drevlyans, however, revolted against this arbitrary measure, and the old prince was slain by the free tribe under the leadership of their prince, *Mal*, who is supposed to have exclaimed: 'The ravenous wolf must be slain, otherwise the whole herd will be destroyed.' According to Byzantine chroniclers, Igor was attached to two trees and torn in twain (945).

§ 5. ***Olga*** (945-957).—After Igor's death, his widow, Olga, reigned during the minority of her son Svyatoslaf. The first steps of this woman, whom the Church afterwards surnamed the saint, was to chastise her husband's murderers. She wrought a terrible vengeance on them. Some were buried alive, others burnt to death in a vapour bath. Olga then took Iskorosten (Iskorosn), the city of the Drevlyans, where Igor had been slain. According to legend she attached lighted matches to the tails of pigeons, which she had demanded from the inhabitants as a tribute, and let them fly back into the town, thus setting the houses on fire. Having wreaked her vengeance, Olga began to rule. Like her predecessors, she visited the various districts, and 'governed wisely and justly.' She became famous, however, in consequence of embracing Christianity. For this purpose she went

to Tsaregrad, where she was received with great pomp and honour by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetes, and baptised under the name of Helen (957). The chronicler relates that the Emperor fell in love with her, and that she first persuaded him to be her sponsor, and then declined his suit on the ground that it was against the Christian law. Considering that Olga was at that time considerably over sixty, she has been rightly styled the northern 'Ninon de l'Enclos.' Returning to Kief, she tried to convert her son Svyatoslaf to her new religion, but did not succeed in her endeavours. 'My men would laugh at me,' replied this prince, and he refused to follow her example and 'to be ashamed of his old idols.' Olga, says the chronicler, was 'the first who mounted to heaven from Russia.'

§ 6. ***Svyatoslaf*** (964-972). — Svyatoslaf was pre-eminently a warrior. Partly on account of his warlike nature, and partly to escape the entreaties of his mother, of whom he was really very fond, although, as Nestor affirms, 'he often grew furious with her,' he absented himself from Kief, passing his life on the battlefield. His first expeditions were directed against the Petshenegs. In 964 he definitely assumed the government, but soon set out towards the Oka against a tribe called the Viatitshes, who were paying tribute to the Khazars. Shortly afterwards he gained a complete victory over the Khazars themselves, and took the *White City*, on the Don, the capital of the once mighty Khazar Empire. Svyatoslaf also subdued the Ossets in the Caucasus, and the Tsherkesses. At the invitation of the Greek Emperor Nicephorus Phocas, Svyatoslaf set out on a campaign against the Bulgarians, on the Danube, with an army of 60,000 men. Svyatoslaf was victorious, and as the Tsar Peter of Bulgaria died at this moment, he settled in Pereyaslavetz, the capital of the country. He even made up his mind to transfer his capital from Kief to Pereyaslavetz. 'This place,' he declared to his mother and boyarins, 'abounds in wealth. Gold, precious stuffs, wine and fruit come from Greece; silver

and horses from the country of the Hungarians, and furs, honey, wax and slaves from Russia.' Svyatoslaf had just returned to Kief, the Petshenegs having invaded the country, when his mother died (970), and the hardened warrior shed bitter tears over her grave. Soon, however, he set out for Bulgaria, with the firm intention of carrying out his plan. First he distributed his dominions among his three sons. Kief he gave to Yaropolk, the land of the Drevlyans to Oleg, and Novgorod to Vladimir, who was his youngest son by one of his mother's chambermaids, *Malusha*. 'The resolution of Svyatoslaf to fix his capital in Pereyaslavetz,' says Rambaud, 'was fraught with immense danger for the Greek Empire.' 'The formation of a great Empire so close to Constantinople would have been rendered more formidable still by the ethnographical constitution of the country. Ancient Thrace and ancient Macedon were peopled by Slav tribes, some of whom were offshoots of Russian tribes.' Had Svyatoslaf carried out his plan, and fixed his seat in Pereyaslavetz, on the Danube, the Roman domination and the Greek race would have come to an end in the Balkan peninsula, and the event might have had far-reaching results, influencing the course of European history. But it was not to be. John Zimiscos, who had in the meantime ascended the throne of the Cæsars, called on Svyatoslaf to evacuate the country. The *Knyaz* refused, and John Zimiscos set out against him with a great force. The Russians had to yield, and Svyatoslaf returned to Kief. He met his death in 972 in another campaign against the Petshenegs. Kourya, the chief of the Petshenegs, is supposed to have cut off the head of the gallant warrior and to have used the skull as a drinking cup.

§ 7. ***Vladimir the Holy.***—Svyatoslaf, as we have seen, divided his dominions among his three sons, thus sowing the seed of future trouble and confusion. Quarrels soon broke out between the brothers. Oleg was killed by the followers of Yaropolk, and Vladimir, on hearing the news, fled from Novgorod to Scandinavian lands. After an absence of two

years (984), however, he returned with a following of Norse adventurers, and went against Yaropolk to avenge the death of one brother on the other. On his way he took the town of Polotzk, because the Princess Rognyeda, the daughter of Rogvolod, had refused him and betrothed herself to Yaropolk. He carried off the bride against her will, after having slain her father and brothers. Kief was taken by Vladimir, and Yaropolk put to death. Thus Vladimir remained sole ruler. He reconquered Galicia, or Red Russia, from the Poles, subdued the Livonian and Lithuanian tribes on the Baltic, and went out against the Bulgarians on the Volga and the Kama. Vladimir, however, became famous in Russian history not so much for his military achievements as for his acceptance of Christianity. Whether the soul of the bloody and voluptuous barbarian was suddenly troubled by religious aspirations, or whether he was prompted by political reasons is a matter of conjecture. Vladimir, who had first erected new idols and statues of his pagan gods, suddenly felt the desire to embrace a new religion.

§ 8. ***The Religion of the Slavs.***—The Slavs at that time worshipped nature, considering the elements as so many divinities. Chief among their gods was *Peroun*, a warlike divinity, presiding over fire, thunder and lightning; next came *Voloss*, *Streebog* and others. These chief divinities were surrounded by a whole host of minor spirits who peopled the visible world and dwelt in forests and rivers. The Slavs believed in a future life, and imagined that the spirits of their departed ancestors wandered about the household protecting them. The religion of the Slavs had never reached that development which is to be met with among other heathen peoples. They had neither temples nor public services. Some individuals, however, who were supposed to stand in direct relation with the gods, and were consequently endowed with supernatural powers, could foretell the future and work wonders. They were called *Volkhvy*, *Koudessniky* and *Vyedmy*, wizards and witches.

§ 9. ***Christianity in Russia.***—Vladimir, Nestor re-

lates, having made up his mind to embrace a new faith, sent out emissaries not only to Rome and Constantinople but also to the Volga—Bulgarians, who practised Islam, and to the Khazars, who had adopted Judaism. Having compared the various religions and their mode of worshipping God, the Knyaz of Kief decided in favour of the Greek orthodox faith. 'The description of the Moslem paradise,' says Karamsin, 'with its graceful houris awaiting the Faithful at the threshold was alluring enough to the voluptuous prince, but he found circumcision an odious custom and the prohibition of wine ridiculous.' 'Wine,' said Vladimir, 'is the Russian's joy; we cannot live without it.' The Jewish faith he refused, because its adherents, being scattered over the world, were evidently disliked by God. The ritual of the Catholic religion did not appeal to him either, nor did he seem inclined to recognise the superiority of the Pope. On the other hand, the splendid pageant displayed in the Greek ritual and ceremonies impressed his imagination, and he decided in favour of the Greek Church. He besieged and conquered the Greek town Kherson, and sent to the Emperors Basil and Constantine requesting the hand of their sister Anna, and intimating his wish to receive baptism. His request was granted, and he was baptised in Kherson in 988. Returned to Kief, he ordered the destruction of the idols. Peroun was dragged down from his pedestal and thrown into the Dnieper. Vladimir then ordered the inhabitants of Kief to abandon the old gods and to worship the new. The waters of the Dnieper were consecrated, and the crowd, men, women and children, had to plunge and be baptised.[1]

§ 10. ***Vladimir's Sons.***—Vladimir, who died in 1015, had twelve sons and many daughters. Rognyeda had borne

[1] On the spot, where formerly stood the statue of Peroun, a church was erected in honour of St. Basil. The chronicler relates that the character of the bloodthirsty and voluptuous barbarian was entirely changed after baptism. He became mild and pious. He built schools, and compelled the parents to send their children to be taught reading and writing. The Church gave him the surname of the Holy, whilst in popular legends he is remembered as *Krasnoe Solnyshko*, or the Beautiful Sun.

him Isyaslaf, whilst the Greek princess Anna was the mother of Boris and Glyeb, who were considered by the Russians as the holy representatives. Vladimir had also married the wife of his brother Yaropolk, and adopted the posthumous son, Svyatopolk. He divided his principalities among his sons. He gave Novgorod to Yaroslaf (Vyatsheslaf, who first received it, having died), Polotzk to Isyaslaf, Rostof to Boris, and Mourom to Glyeb. Svyatoslaf received the land of the Drevlyans, Vsevolod had Vladimir in Volhynia, Mstyslaf received as his portion Tmoutorokan, the Tamatarchia of the Greeks; whilst Tourof, in the country of Minsk, fell to his nephew, Svyatopolk, the posthumous son of his brother Yaropolk. When Vladimir died, Svyatopolk at once appeared in Kief, claimed to be the eldest son, and consequently declared himself *Velyky Knyaz* (Grand Prince). Boris, Glyeb and Svyatoslaf were murdered, and Svyatopolk ruled for four years (1015-1019). He was, however, ousted by his brother Yaroslaf of Novgorod, who, falling upon him on the banks of the Alta, drove him to flight. Svyatopolk died in exile, and Yaroslaf remained sole master.

§ 11. ***Yaroslaf I.*** (1019-1054).—Yaroslaf I. is one of the most popular rulers in early Russian history. He built beautiful cathedrals in Kief and Novgorod, consecrated to St. Sophia. Important, however, is his compilation of a Code, known as the *Rousskaya Pravda*, or the Russian Right, and in which he seems to have embodied German and Scandinavian laws and customs. There are no criminal laws in the Code, but it contains the *wer-gild* (or *wira*)—a price paid for a life, in accordance with the rank and station of the person. It also admitted the trial by water and ordeal by fire, and the settling of disputes by wager of battle and duel. Yaroslaf was related by marriage-alliances to most of the European courts. His son Isyaslaf had married the sister of Duke Kazimir; his youngest daughter, Anastasia, was wedded to Andrew I. of Hungary; whilst his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, was the wife of Harold the Brave, King

of Norway. His daughter Anne he had given to Henri I. of France. His eldest son Vladimir had married Githa (but it is possible that it was Vladimir Monomachus), daughter of Harold, King of England; whilst his other sons had taken Greek and German princesses as their wives. Yaroslaf died in 1054, and was buried in the Cathedral of Ste. Sophia in Kief beneath a marble sarcophagus.

CHAPTER III

RUSSIA DIVIDED

§ 1. ***The Sons of Yaroslaf.***—At the point of death, Yaroslaf, following the established custom, divided his dominions among his five sons. To Isyaslaf he gave Kief, Novgorod and Tourof; to Svyatoslaf, Tshernigof; and to Vsevolod, Pereyaslavl. Vyetsheslaf received Smolensk and Igor Vladimir in Volhynia. The old prince left instructions in his will that his sons should obey and respect the eldest among them as if he were their parent, but his instructions were not carried out. Peace reigned only for a short time, and civil wars were soon waged among them. In fact, the history of Russia for the next two centuries is nothing but a long chain of petty quarrels and squabbles between the small princes and their numerous offspring. 'The persistent conflict,' says Rambaud, 'between the law of Byzantium, which invested the son with the possessions of the father, and the old national law of the Slavs, which caused them to pass to the eldest of the family, proved in the future an inexhaustible source of civil wars.' 'A foreign historian,' says Karamsin, 'can find no attraction in painting the gloomy picture of this epoch, sterile in glorious actions, and distinguished only by petty squabbles between the numerous rulers, whose shadows, steeped in the blood of their subjects, glide along in the

obscurity of past centuries.' 'At the side of a host of unworthy and weak rulers, however,' continues the Russian historian, 'one meets also heroes distinguished by their valour and virtue, by highmindedness and generosity.' Across the gloomy, sombre picture of civil wars and calamities, a ray of light sometimes falls.' From the chaotic feudal state under these princelings, here and there a man of character, and renowned by his achievements, emerges like some towering rock in the midst of the surging waves. The fear of wearying the reader, and the limited scope of a primer, compel us to pass rapidly over this uninteresting and somewhat confusing part of Russia's history. For a period of ten years Russia enjoyed comparative peace and prosperity, and the princes took up arms only against outside enemies. Soon, however, civil war broke out again, and the Russian territory, gradually partitioned into an immense number of small principalities, became the arena of a princely anarchy, which prevented the consolidation of the realm, and the triumph of the idea of political unity.

§ 2. In the south a new tribe had appeared at this time, threatening to invade the country. It was the tribe of the Polovtzy. The two younger sons of Yaroslaf, Svyatoslaf and Vsevolod, took arms against the elder brother, the Grand Prince Isyaslaf, who fled the country, taking refuge at the Court of Henry IV. of Germany. Svyatoslaf, Prince of Tshernigof, sat on the throne of Kief. After his death (1078) he was succeeded by his brother Vsevolod. According to Slavonic principles of succession the throne was inherited by the eldest in the family, and uncles had consequently the preference over the nephews, until the line of uncles was exhausted. Vsevolod, we learn from the writings of his famous son, Vladimir Monomachus, knew five languages.[1]

Vsevolod died in 1093 and was succeeded, not by his son, but by his nephew Svyatopolk II. (1093-1113).

§ 3. During his reign a civil war broke out among the

[1] His daughter Yanka went to Greece to satisfy her craving for knowledge.

princes for the possession of the principality of Tshernigof, and one of them, Oleg, the son of Svyatoslaf, who, as it seems, had a rightful claim, called in the Polovtzy to his aid. Oleg was invited by his kinsmen, Svyatopolk and Vladimir Monomachus, to appear at a conference 'in which the bishops, abbots, all the boyarins, and the towns would take part,' but he refused. 'I am a prince,' said he, 'and do not intend to be judged by priests and commoners.' Thanks, however, to the interference of Vladimir Monomachus a peace congress of the princes was called together at *Lubetsh*, where the princes, 'sitting on the same carpet,' swore friendship and decided henceforth to live in peace (1097). 'Henceforth the Russians dominions will be considered as our common fatherland, and he who will dare to take up arms against his brother will be considered as the enemy of all the others.' This excellent resolve, however, was of very short duration. Scarcely had the princes risen 'from the same carpet,' where they kissed the cross and swore mutual friendship, than David, Prince of Volhynia, accused one of his nephews, Vassilko of murderous intentions. The Grand Prince of Kief, Svyatopolk, believed the accusation to be true, and without any further ado invited Vassilko to a festival at Kief, where the latter was arrested, handed over to the uncle and put to death. Vladimir Monomachus and the other princes raised a cry of indignation when the news of the tortures and death of Vassilko reached them. This gave rise to more civil wars and more bloodshed. At last another peace congress was called together at Vititshevo (1100), where David was deprived of his dominions. Vladimir Monomachus, at the head of his kinsmen, then armed himself against the common enemy, the Polovtzy, over whom he gained a great victory. One of the Khans of the Polovtzy was made prisoner and offered a large sum for his release. The Russian prince, 'to avenge the sufferings of the Christians,' refused the money and ordered his prisoner to be cut in pieces.

Svyatopolk died in 1113. He was a very weak prince, and had all the faults of weak natures. He was devout and

erected many churches and monasteries. In Kief he founded the Church of St. Michael, with its golden dome. His piety, however, was only limited to outward manifestations, for otherwise he disregarded the laws of Christian morality. He was also avaricious and had amassed money by every means, both fair and foul. 'He had, for example,' says Karamsin, 'tolerated the Jews who came from Tauris, and had himself traded in salt, disregarding the interests of his people.' When he died therefore the *droosheena* and the boyarins wept, but the rest of the people were not affected.[1]

§ 4. After the death of Syvatopolk the throne of Kief belonged by right to one of the sons of Svyatoslaf, but the *Vetshé*, or assembly, of the inhabitants of Kief solemnly declared that only the most worthy of the Russian princes should succeed and become *Velyky Knyaz*, and by unanimous consent they sent a deputation to Vladimir Monomachus to offer him the crown. Vladimir refused, either because his kinsmen, the Svyatoslaf family, were entitled to the throne or because it was customary to refuse at first. In the meantime a number of people availed themselves of the interregnum, and of Vladimir's hesitation, to pillage and destroy the houses of the Jews.[2] Vladimir at last gave way. 'Come and occupy the throne of your ancestors,' said the inhabitants of Kief; 'if you refuse, we shall not only pillage and kill the Jews, but will also attack the palace of Svyatopolk and his widow; we shall also pillage the monasteries, and you, prince, will be responsible to God for such a sacrilege.'[3]

§ 5. ***Vladimir Monomachus*** (1113-1125).—With the accession of Vladimir Monomachus to the throne of Kief an era of peace and prosperity began for Russia, similar to those of Vladimir the Holy and of Yaroslaf the Wise. Monomachus ruled over all the Russian dominions, and the other princes were under his sway and obeyed his commands. The Polovtzy did not dare to invade the country, having experienced the military vigour of the Russian ruler, whilst

[1] Solovyef. [2] They were expelled from Russia in 1144.
[3] *Cf.* Solovyef.

the princes respected the authority of the *Velyky Knyaz* and lived in brotherly unity. One of them, Glyeb, prince of Minsk, having disturbed the peaceful atmosphere by inciting a civil war, was speedily dethroned, and died in captivity in Kief.

Vladimir established peace at home and protected Russia against her enemies abroad. His name was feared and respected in the East and in the West. The Emperor Alexis Comnenes sent him many presents, among others, a crucifix made from the wood of the Cross of the Saviour, a drinking goblet—which had belonged to Augustus—and a crown. The presents were handed over to Vladimir by Neophytas, the Metropolitan of Ephesus, who placed the imperial crown upon the head of Vladimir in the Cathedral of Kief, proclaiming him to be the Tsar of all the Russias. The presents and the crown, called 'The Golden Cap of Monomachus,' are preserved in the museum in Moscow.[1] Vladimir left a letter of instruction, or *Poútshenie*, a document written on parchment, and addressed to his children for their guidance.

'Feeling the approach of death,' he wrote, 'I thank the Almighty for having lengthened my days; His hand protected me to an advanced age. You, my children, and all those who will read this document, observe the maxims it contains. Should you, however, disapprove of my intentions, do not blame me, but say he has spoken unwisely. Fear of God and love of humanity are the bases of all virtues. Praise God, my children, and love man. Neither fasting, nor solitude, nor a monastic life, but well-doing will procure the life eternal. Do not forget the poor but nourish them, and remember that all your possessions come from God, who has conferred them upon you only temporarily. Be fathers to the orphans, judge the widows yourselves and never allow the mighty to oppress the feeble. Do not put to death, neither the guilty nor the innocent, for the life of a Christian is sacred; never abandon the sick, and be not afraid to look at the dead, for we must all die. Beware of pride, remember that we are all mortal; to-day we live but to-morrow we shall be

[1] Karamsin

in the grave. In war be active yourselves, setting an example to your *voyevodas*. When you travel through your country never allow your retinue to harm the people. Above all, honour your guests, noble and common, merchant and ambassador, for they give you a good or bad reputation in foreign lands. Love your wives, but beware lest they gain any sway over you. I myself have made altogether eighty-three campaigns, not counting those of minor importance. I have concluded nineteen treaties of peace with the Polovtzy, taken at least 100 of their princes prisoners, whom I afterwards restored to liberty; and more than 200 I have put to death by throwing them into the river. No one has ever travelled more rapidly than I have done. I used to set out from Tshernigof in the morning and to arrive in Kief before the hours of the vespers. We enjoyed, your grandfather and myself, the pleasures of hunting. How often have I, in the thickest of forests, caught wild horses and bound them together with my own hands. How many times have I been thrown from my saddle by buffaloes, struck by the antlers of stags, and trampled under the feet of elks. Once a furious boar tore my sword from my baldrick; my saddle was torn by a bear; this terrible beast rushed upon my courser and threw it down under me. How many times in my youth have I fallen from my horse, when, heedless of danger, I broke my head, wounded my arms and legs. But the Lord protected me.' Vladimir Monomachus died in 1125 in his seventy-third year. He was succeeded by his sons, Mstyslaf (1125-1132) and Yaropolk (1132-1139).

§ 6. Again petty quarrels broke out, and Kief began to lose its supremacy. Its importance as a political centre was on the wane. Kief passed from one prince to another until it fell into the hands of Andrew Bogolyoubsky, Prince of Souzdal, a town situated to the north-east of Kief. The town was taken and pillaged (1169), a misfortune, says the chronicler, which had never before befallen the 'mother of Russian cities.' This was only the beginning of the humiliation of this centre of political and religious influence. Kief

was gradually superseded by Souzdal, which gained sway and extended its influence over the whole of Russia, until the invasion of the Tartars brought its downfall. 'Neither old nor young,' says the historian Kostomarof, 'neither women nor children, neither churches nor monasteries, were spared. Not only private property but holy ikons and priestly robes did the enemy 'carry away. Old Kief was stripped of its ancient glory and its century-old supremacy. This once rich town, known as the second Constantinople by foreigners, had lost a great deal of her former splendour in consequence of civil wars, but now she was sacked, burnt down, and deprived of the majority of her inhabitants, who were either killed or led away as prisoners.' Karamsin says: 'This mother of Russian towns was several times besieged, and she had often opened her golden gates to the enemy; but never yet had anyone entered her by force. To their eternal shame, the victors had forgotten that they were Russians.' 'Our naïve annalist,' continues Karamsin, 'by way of justifying this sacrilege, tells us that the inhabitants thus expiated their former sins and their arrogance.'

After the fall of Kief Russia practically ceased to have a centre round which to gravitate. The scene of interest shifted to the principalities of Souzdal, Galitsh, and the Republics of Novgorod and Pskof.

§ 7. ***The Russian Principalities before the Tartar Invasion.***—Russia was at that time divided into many independent principalities, over each of which ruled a branch of the house of Rurik. The most important principalities in the second half of the twelfth century were the following:—

1. *Souzdal*, occupying vast territories on the upper and middle Volga and its tributaries. It was distinguished by a very severe climate and inhabited by poor Finnish tribes. Being considered one of the worst appanages it fell to the lot of Vladimir Monomachus's youngest son Youry (or George) Dolgorouky. Thanks, however, to the energy, zeal, and economic sense of this prince, this district soon attained a

certain degree of prosperity. Besides the ancient towns of Souzdal and Rostof may be mentioned Yaroslavl, on the Volga, Vladimir on the Klyazma, and Pereyaslavl Zalyessky situated on the Lake of Pereyaslaf. Youry (George) Dolgorouky, who was the founder of Souzdal, also founded a new town which he peopled with inhabitants from the South; and thus the Slavonic nationality, together with Christianity, began to penetrate into the Finnish districts. Andrew Bogolyoubsky, the son of Youry, continued to live in the North. He was the first Russian prince who ventured to wage war against the feudal system. 'With him,' says Rambaud, 'a new type of prince or *knyaz* appears in Russian history.' 'It is no more the chivalrous, careless knyaz, in turn a prey to all kinds of opposing passions, the joyous knyaz of the happy land of Kief, but an ambitious, restless, politic and imperious sovereign, going straight to his goal without scruple and without pity.' He sacked Kief in 1169, and then turned his arms against Novgorod (1170), where he suffered a serious and complete defeat at the hands of the Novgorodians. But Andrew was a man of resource and he forced the Novgorodians to submission by cutting off the provisions. He was an ambitious prince and endeavoured to upset the custom according to which the ruler divided his dominions among his sons. He tried to weld into one the numerous principalities which weakened the territory and thus made it an easy prey to the Mongols who were soon to invade the country. Andrew was assassinated by his boyarins in 1174. Petty quarrels again rose and one of his brothers, Vsevolod III., surnamed 'The Big Nest' (father of a numerous family), succeeded in pacifying the principality and in extending its boundaries. After his death (1212), the principality of Souzdal lost its former influence over the rest of Russia. Vsevolod was a prudent politician and distinguished himself by his firm character. He was continually stirring up strife and creating intrigues among the other princes, whilst he himself held aloof and availed himself of their strife for his own purposes. Hence his power. 'The Volga you can evaporate

with your wars and empty the Don with your helmets,' sings the author of the 'Song of Igor.'[1] He subdued Ryazan and sent his son to rule in Novgorod. After his death (1212), a civil war broke out between his two sons Constantine and Youry (or George II)., and the famous Battle of Lipetzk was fought (1215-1216), where Constantine was victorious. After his death (1217) he was succeeded by Youry, who was renowned for his wars against the Bulgarians and the foundation of Nishny-Novgorod (1220).

The nearest neighbour of the Souzdalians in the East was the Finnish tribe Mordva, ruled by its own princes Beyond the territory of the Mordva further East lived the Bulgarians of the Kama who often invaded the Russian dominions.

2. *Tshernigof.* — The next principality was that of Tshernigof, situated on the banks of the Dessna and the Seym, tributaries of the Dnieper, and reaching to the Upper Oka. It belonged to the family of Oleg or the Olgovitshes. The most notable towns in this principality were Tshernigof, Starodoub and Lyoubetsh. Of other towns there were Novgorod, Syeversky, Poutivl, Koursk and Bryansk. The South Russian Steppes were at that time occupied by the warlike Polovtzy, a barbarous tribe against whom the princes of Syeversky waged ceaseless wars. One of them, named Igor, became famous in Russian history or rather literature, his exploits and military achievements having been immortalised in one of the oldest Russian folk-songs or *chansons de geste* —'The Song of Igor, or The Song of the Expedition of Igor' (Slovo of Polkóu Igorévyoú).

3. The double principality of Mourom and Ryazan was situated on the Middle Oka and the Upper Don in the midst of the Finnish tribes, the Mouromy and Meshtshery. The principal towns were: Mourom, Ryzan, Pereyaslavl Ryazansky, all on the banks of the Oka; Kolomna at the junction of the Moscova with the Oka, and Pronsk on the river Prona. In spite of the fertile soil and the natural products of the district, the inhabitants were in a state of poverty, and the

[1] Bestushef Ryoumin

principality was always under the sway of the princes of Souzdal. The inhabitants of Ryazan, in consequence of the constant wars with the neighbouring tribes were reputed to be of a warlike nature and rough and brutal in their habits.

4. The principality of Polotzk (or the Kreevsky district) occupied the basin of the Dwina and the Berĕzina (and the Upper Nyemen), and its principal towns were: Polotzk, Minsk, Vitebsk and Dronzk. The princely family that reigned here were descendants of Rognyeda. Owing to its being divided into small districts and to the disputes arising between them, these principalities were too weak to prevent the Livonian knights from establishing themselves on the banks of the Dwina in the beginning of the tenth century, so that the latter very soon extended their sway over Polotzk.

5. *Smolensk.*—The principality of Smolensk occupied the basin of the Dnieper and the Southern Dwina. It was situated in the centre of the Russian territories, thus enjoying an excellent position, and not only was it densely inhabited but it could boast of a commercial prosperity and comparative well-being of the populace. The principal towns after Smolensk were Toropetz, Mojaysk and Vyazma. The principality was the appanage of one of the grandsons of Monomachus. Two scions of this house, Mstyslaf *Khrabry* (the Brave) and his son Mstyslaf *Oudaloy*, were the most noteworthy rulers.

6. *Volhynia and Galicia.*—These two principalities occupied the territory situated on the Pripet and its tributaries, and the principal towns were Vladimir Volynsky (in Volhynia), Loutzk, Tourof, and Brest and Lublin in the extreme west. Here ruled the elder branch of the house of Monomachus. One of the most noteworthy princes was Roman (1188-1205), a great hero who has been compared to Monomachus.[1] Galicia, or Red Russia, occupied the territory on the north-eastern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains

[1] *Cf.* Karamsin and Kostomarof

on the Upper Dniester and the Pront and was peopled by the White Croats. The founder of the Galician principality is considered to be Vladimirko. He built the town of Galitsh and united under his sway the whole of Red Russia. His son Yaroslaf Osmomysl, mentioned in the 'Song of Igor,' was still more famous, not so much for his military achievements as for his internal policy and the prosperity which the principality attained under his sway. Galicia was united to Volhynia in 1198, under Roman of Volhynia.

7. *Novgorod and Pskof.*—Besides the above-mentioned principalities, mention must be made of the two Republics of Novgorod and Pskof. Novgorod included all the territory stretching from the Finnish Bay and the Upper Volga to the White Sea and the Northern Dwina. The district was divided into five parts, and was peopled partly by Finns and partly by Krivitsh (or Baltic) Slavs. The soil being sandy in parts, and in parts marshy or covered with forests, was thus unsuitable for agriculture. The principal town of the republic was Novgorod, itself situated on both sides of the Volkhof. One part was called the side of St. Sophia, because it contained the Cathedral of St. Sophia, whilst the other was named the side of commerce. Novgorod was under the sway of the princes of Kief, but gradually it gained special rights and privileges, and developed an independent communal government, which styled itself *Gospodeen Velyky Novgorod* (Sir Great Novgorod), and although there was always a prince in Novgorod, he only occupied the second place after the *Vetshé* or assembly of citizens. The citizens invited a prince 'on conditions,' and when they were dissatisfied with him, they 'showed him the way.' 'Go,' they said, 'we do not want you.' The chief duty of the prince was to defend the town against the outside enemy. The second magistrate after the prince was the *Possadnik*. By the side of Novgorod was Pskof, situated on the junction of the Velika and the Pskof Lake. It was governed by a Possadnik, like all the other towns, but in the twelfth century it gained its independence, and

had a separate government. Pskof became famous for its struggle against the encroachment of the Livonian Knights.

CHAPTER IV

THE INVASION OF THE MONGOLS

§ 1. ***Petshenegs and Polovtzy.***—We have seen into how many principalities Russia was divided. For apart from those mentioned there were a great many smaller ones, ruled by scions of the house of Rurik. Andrew Bogolyoubsky had striven after unity, but his endeavours were frustrated after his death. Hence the Mongols could invade and subdue the country. From the very beginning of her existence Russia was destined to be invaded and subdued by Asiatic hordes. Her flat geographical position, the absence of fortified towns capable of offering a resistance to the advancing human tide, and above all, the lack of unity and cohesion which prevented the organisation of a military force, were all circumstances facilitating the success of the Oriental conquerors. Ever since the ninth century the nomadic tribes of the vast Steppes had threatened and invaded Russia, and the princes were continually compelled to undertake expeditions into the very heart of the plains. The princes, whose military achievements and heroic deeds are not devoid of a certain chivalrous character, such as those of Vladimir Monomachus and Igor, whose exploits have formed the subject of Russian ancient lore, fought valiantly. But they did not unite their forces against the enemy; they fought singly. They often even called in the nomads to fight against their own kinsmen. The surging waves of that human ocean were therefore bound to overflow the flat country, finding no powerful resistance to break their strength. The Petshenegs were subdued by the Polovtzy, who in their turn devastated

the territories of the settled Slavs. And although here and there a prince felt the approaching danger, and entreated his kinsmen to discard the internecine quarrels and fight the enemy with united strength, their voices for the most part echoed hollow over the desert, and were lost in the general chaos. Thus the Petshenegs were followed by the Polovtzy, and these in their turn made way for the Mongols.

§ 2. ***Djenghis Khan.***—From time immemorial the Tartar and Mongol hordes had roamed over Mid Asia. The cradle of the Mongols is to be sought at the foot of the Altai.[1] They undertook various campaigns against China, and it was most probably as a protection against these invaders that the Great Wall was built. In the twelfth century the Mongols were under the sway of China. At the beginning of the thirteenth century they were ruled by Temudshin. Having subdued many nomadic tribes and various Gurkhans, *i.e.*, great khans, he was proclaimed Djenghis Khan, or very mighty khan. On reaching the summit of his power he refused to pay tribute to the Chinese Emperor, declaring, with sublime scorn, 'China's ruler styles himself the Son of Heaven, but he is not even a man.' At the head of his hordes Djenghis-Khan broke out against China, and having conquered it, turned to the west, where Persia, Bokhara and Samarkand fell under his sway. In 1222 he appeared on the confines of the Russian territories. The Polovtzy, who had taken the place of the Petshenegs in the Steppes bordering Russia, could not stem the progress of the approaching hordes. Many of them, with their wives, children, and cattle, took refuge in the principality of Kief. The Polovtzy rulers entreated the Russian princes to help them against the dangerous enemy. 'To-day they have taken our country, and to-morrow they will take yours,' they said. Mstyslaf the Bold, Prince of Galitsh, convened a congress in Kief, and persuaded the princes not to await the invasion of the barbarians, but to forestall them. In the famous battle at the Kalka, a little river which discharges its waters into the Sea

[1] Solovyef.

of Azof (1223), the Russians were completely defeated. Mstyslaf lost his life, and only a few survivors reached the banks of the Dnieper. The Polovtzy, too, proved traitors, and helped the victors to cut down the Russians. Suddenly, however, the storm that had swept over the South of Russia subsided. The enemy turned back, and disappeared into Asia. The chronicler relates that the astonishment of the people at the sudden appearance and disappearance of the cruel and savage enemy was very great. 'Where did they come from, these terrible invaders? whither have they gone?' God alone knows, and those who are versed in book-learning.[1] It seems, however, that, on the whole, the invasion produced only a small impression upon the inhabitants of Russia, as the chronicler has only scanty information concerning the events. 'Of those wicked Taurman-Tartars we know nothing.'[2]

§ 3. Thirteen years after the battle at the Kalka the nomads returned again, this time directing their attacks against Central Russia. At that time Russia was the scene of various natural phenomena, calculated to inspire fear in the superstitious, and to spread general terror all over the country. A comet of enormous dimensions appeared in the direction of the Occident, and clouds obscured the sun. The atmosphere was clouded by mists, and birds fell lifeless to the ground. The country also suffered from drought and famine.[3] In the meantime Djenghis-Khan had died, and his nephew Batu advanced with a vast army towards Russia. He subdued the Volga-Bolgars (Bulgarians), and sacked the north-eastern towns of Ryazan, Souzdal, Rostof, Yaroslaf and Moscow.[4] Favoured by the winter, which formed a way across the frozen rivers and marshes, he advanced without meeting any considerable resistance. He took Vladimir, razed the town, and defeated the Prince Youry II. (George) in the battle on the Sit (1238). The army then advanced against Novgorod. Tver and Torshok were taken, and

[1] Karamsin. [2] Solovyef. [3] Karamsin.

[4] For origin of Moscow, see next chapter.

Novgorod seemed to be on the point of sharing the fate of many other towns, when Batu suddenly turned back. The approaching spring had brought thaw and broken the ice, and the marshy road before him compelled a retreat. Novgorod, even later on during the Mongol dominion, escaped devastation. On his way back Batu besieged Koselsk, which distinguished itself by its gallant defence. The town, however, fell into the hands of the enemy, and the inhabitants had to pay dearly for their courage. The Russian princes were unequal to the critical position in which the country was suddenly plunged. They fought singly, but their acts of bravery were of no avail. In the next two years, 1239 and 1240, the Tartars devastated the South of Russia, traversed the Steppes of the Polovtzy, took Gloukhof and Tshernigof, and at last they appeared before Kief. All these towns had fought and defended themselves bravely, but in the South as in the North there was no cohesion, no unity, and no organisation. Plano Carpini, who visited Kief at that time (1245), *i.e.*, immediately after its devastation by the Mongols, gives the following description of the town: 'Everywhere we saw scattered the skulls and bones of the fallen and killed. The once large and populous city had shrunk to a mere nothing; hardly 200 houses remained.' In how far, however, Russia was inferior as far as political unity and military organisation are concerned to Western Europe, the following events will show. After dealing death and destruction to Russia, Batu and his hosts turned to Hungary and Poland. Poland's aristocracy was defeated after a valiant struggle on the battlefield of Liegnitz in Silesia. But the enemy was bidden halt by the united efforts of the West and the victory of the Bohemians at Olmutz.[1] Some, however, maintain that it was neither the battle of Liegnitz, nor the forces of the West, nor even his difficulty to support his army in the ravaged lands that determined Batu to withdraw with his death-dealing hosts, but that a happy occurrence had saved Europe and Western civilisation from being destroyed

[1] *Cf.* Brueckner.

by the wave of Mongolian devastation. The news of the death of the great Khan Ogatai, which had suddenly reached Batu, induced him to return and cut short his campaign. 'The Latin world,' says Gibbon, 'was darkened by this cloud of savage hostility; a Russian fugitive carried the alarm to Sweden; and the remote nations of the Baltic and the ocean trembled at the approach of the Tartars, whom their fear and ignorance were inclined to separate from the human species. Since the invasion of the Arabs in the eighth century, Europe had never been exposed to a similar calamity; and if the disciples of Mohammed would have oppressed her religion and liberty, it might be apprehended that the shepherds of Scythia would extinguish her cities, her arts, and all the institutions of civil society.'

§ 4. ***Sarai.***—Batu retreated from the Danube, and retraced his steps towards Mongolia, whilst the Hordes established themselves in the Volga Steppes. In the vicinity of the modern Zaref (in the province of Astrakhan) rose the city of Sarai, where the Tartars had pitched their winter camp. It was here that the Russian princes had to betake themselves to pay homage and swear allegiance. Sarai (the castle), situated north of the Akhtuba, the tributary of the Volga, became the capital of the mighty Tartar Empire, the Golden Horde, which extended from the Urals and the Caspian Sea to the Danube. It is interesting here to quote a passage from Howorth's excellent history of the Mongols, where he points out the sweet that was contained in the bitter of the Mongol invasion:—

'There was one result at least of the Tartar invasion which was lasting and most useful, and in this it was similar to the terrible invasions of the Danes in the further West at an earlier day. Through the process of parcelling out the kingly inheritance, a considerable danger was hanging over Europe, every province was a rival of its neighbours, and all the countries of the west were in consequence disintegrating. It required the sharp iron of the Danes to weld together the fragments of England into one land, to make men feel that

they had a common heritage to guard, and common interests to gather round.'

'We cannot doubt that all the romance and fervid sentiment which surrounds the term Fatherland in Germany has been born of misfortunes and troubles which division and mutual strife have entailed on her children, and have made her an ever easy prey to her unscrupulous neighbours. So it was with the Russians, only in a much greater degree. The union, that obedience to authority, that terrible patience and dogged perseverance, which we recognise as the great Russian virtues, were born doubtless of the terrible troubles that befell the land in the Tartar and earlier period. So dislocated and broken was the whole fabric of the State in the early thirteenth century, that nothing but blood and iron, the two remedies of a strong-handed statesman, were capable of welding it together, and these were supplied copiously enough by the Tartars. The need of union against the common enemy created Russia out of a patchwork of small rival States with ignoble ambitions. This at least was one result of the struggle.'[1]

§ 5. ***Tartar Influence upon Russia.***—The views of historians differ with regard to the influence exercised by the Mongols upon Russia. Some maintain that the wave of Mongolian invasion, inundating the flat land situated between Europe and Asia, had carried away and destroyed every vestige of Western influence; that the yoke of the Golden Horde had crushed the nascent Norse civilisation, that the hundreds of thousands of Mongols who came to Russia, mixed with the Slavs, and influenced habits, customs, civilisation, social life, administration, and even language. The influence was far-reaching—wider became the gulf between the Russian and the Romance and Teutonic worlds. Whilst the latter were passing through phases of transition, approaching slowly but gradually to the times of light and learning, Russia, sighing under the iron yoke of the Golden Horde, not only stood still, but went back. All that the Scandinavian rulers had established

[1] Howorth

was wiped out. When, therefore, after a struggle extending over nearly three centuries, the Tsardom of Moscow threw off the shackles of the Great Khan, freed itself from thraldom, and laid the foundations of the Autocracy and the great Empire, it only established, on the ruins of the old Mongolian, a new State, which was Mongolian and Tartar in its essence and spirit, in its customs and institutions, and had little or nothing in common with the rest of Europe. Moscow was the interior of Mongolism, the Tsar spiritually and even physically a descendant of Mongol princes.[1] These views are not only upheld by Russophobes, but also by patriotic Russians, who find in Mongolism an excuse for Russia's tardiness in developing the germs of European civilisation. Karamsin thus maintains that the Russian national character is to be attributed to Mongolian influence.

Others, however, entirely repudiate the idea of a Tartar influence upon Russian social life. Solovyef, for instance, is of opinion that the influence of the Golden Horde was not more far-reaching than that of the other nomadic tribes who dwelt in the Steppes, as for instance the Polovtzy, whom the Tartars had subjugated. They could have no direct influence upon Russian social life and customs for the three following reasons :—

1. The Tartars were much inferior to the Russians as far as general civilisation is concerned.

2. The Tartars were tolerant in matters of religion, and took the churches and monasteries under their special protection.

3. The Tartars lived separately and did not spread all over Russia, and the alliances by marriage were actually nil.

Not a single custom and not a single song found its way from the Mongol invader to the Russians. On the contrary, the Russian folklore and proverbs breathe a spirit of hatred towards the alien invaders—(An invited guest is worse than a Tartar)—and speaks of beastly Tartarism (or Tatarshtsheena).

[1] Mongol princes or Mourzas were connected with the Russian Knyazy. Tsar Ivan IV. married a Mongolian princess, and his son was married to a sister of the Mongol, Boris Godunov.

This is sufficient proof that Russian customs and social habits carefully avoided anything Tartarian, and that the Russians guarded themselves from falling under the evil influence. 'The influence upon our language,' says a Russian historian, 'is very small indeed.' 'The words *Terem* and *Knout* have not come to us from the Tartars, because women enjoyed among the Tartars comparative freedom and respect, whilst our ancient songs attest the fact that the secluded life of the Russian women in the Terems was in full existence before the invasion; corporal punishment again has come to us from Byzantium and was fostered and confirmed by the feudal system of the South. The word *Knout* is of Scandinavian origin. Very few Tartar words have come into the Russian language; such are *ataman*, *bazar*, *denga*, *kabak*, *kazak*, *kazna*, *kopeyka*, *yarlyk*, *khalat*, etc. The use of a great many, however, has long been abandoned.'[1] The Mongols could therefore only have had an indirect or rather a negative influence upon Russia. On the one hand the devastation of the Hordes had plunged the inhabitants into a state of poverty and driven them from the villages. On the other hand the Russian princes, too busy concentrating their attention upon the gathering of military forces, had no time to think of their subjects and their education. Therefore the progress of education, begun under the Normans, came to a standstill. Bestyoushef Ryoumin also thinks that the Tartars did not further culture and civilisation, in consequence of which a period of stagnation ensued; manners grew coarse and rude. It is, however, entirely wrong[2] to imagine that corporal punishment owes its origin to the Tartar influence. It was brought from Byzantium into the south of Russia. And, moreover, corporal punishment was known in the Occident as well, and is to be found in Russian districts where the Mongolian influence never penetrated. M. Rambaud in his *History of Russia*[3] further points out that 'if the Moscovite princes inclined to autocracy, it was not because they formed themselves upon

[1] *Cf.* Tratshevsky, *Russkaya Istorya*, p. 174.

[2] *Bestyoushef Ryumin*, vol. i. [3] Paris, 1900, p. 143.

the model of the Grand Khans, but because they had adopted Imperial ideas of absolutism imported from Byzantium. The Roman Emperor of Tsaregrad, and not the leader of Asiatic shepherds, is always their typical monarch.' The habit also of prostration, of beating the forehead (tshelobytie), of affecting slavish submission, is not only Asiatic but also Byzantine.

§ 6. Personally, I am inclined to think that the influence of Mongolism has been considerably overrated. Internally Russia remained the same as before, and could develop herself quite freely. Spain, for instance, was subjugated to a greater extent by the Moslem conquerors than Russia by the Mongols. From his seat in the heart of China, and afterwards from Sarai, the Khan sent his tax-collectors and compelled the princes to come and pay him homage. The people really felt very little of the so-called foreign yoke. If the Mongol invasion separated Russia from Europe, rendering the former inaccessible to European civilisation—thus having indirectly a disastrous influence—the rule of the Mongol Khans is not to be held responsible. If, as has been pointed out, the foreign yoke was instrumental in welding Russia into one mighty Power, it must also be admitted that the princes availed themselves of the foreign rule to foster their *own* absolute power and to crush the vestiges of individual independence. This they would not have been able to do had not the popular character lent itself to the purpose.

I have already hinted that the Khans ruled from a distance. They exacted tribute and unconditional submission, but very rarely did they interfere in the internal administration of the countries that were under their sway. The Khans only knew the local princes, whom they either confirmed on their thrones or expelled, but rarely did they replace them by Tartar governors. Russia thus retained her previous administration, her Knyazy and Grand Knyazy, her judicial administration, and her religion.

The following were the relations between Russia and the Golden Horde:—[1]

[1] *Cf.* Oustryalof.

1. The indirect ruler of Russia was the Khan of the Golden Horde. He distributed the provinces among the princes just as he pleased; from among them he appointed the Grand Prince, settled their disputes, punishing the guilty one by depriving him of his territory, and often sentencing him to death.

2. No prince nor grand prince could ascend the throne without the permission of the Khan. To this effect he had to go himself, at first to the furthest recesses of Asia and afterward to Sarai, where he was compelled to 'beat the earth' before the Khan, and obtain his investiture in the form of a *yarlik* or a firman. This ceremony was accompanied by many humiliating formalities.

3. The princes dared not wage war with one another without the permission of the Khan.

4. Russia had to pay a tribute or a capitation tax of money or furs. These taxes were farmed-out to Khiva, Boukhara and Armenian merchants, who were protected by Tartar officials, or *baskaks*, appointed for the purpose.

5. The princes were further compelled to furnish a military contingent, and to obey the orders of the Khans to join their military forces in their expeditions against Hungary or the tribes of the Caucasus.

The yoke was thus certainly heavy, especially from a financial point of view. A great number of Mongol tax-collectors came into the country, and their exaction of the tribute was often accompanied by excesses and atrocities. The cruel custom[1] of flagellating the debtor until he paid, known as *dershaty na pravesh*, was introduced by the Tartars.[2] On the other hand, the chief administration of the country remained in the hands of the princes, and thus conserved its national character. But from a social point of view Mongolism ought not to have retarded Russia's development. Another important proof that the influence of Mongolism upon Russia from a social point of view was

[1] In use in Russia even at a later period.

[2] Hammer Purgstall, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde*, p. 410.

of no importance is the fact that the Khans were very tolerant in matters of religion. The Mongols, it must be admitted, were not without redeeming qualities. Their treatment of women was not at all cruel; on the contrary, they respected them, and the Tartar princesses were even permitted to take part in the Government.[1] Among the other virtues of the Tartars were simplicity of habits and speech, hospitality and, above all, tolerance.[2] Thus it happened that the Tartar dominion did not affect the Church, but, on the contrary, increased its power.

In the middle of the thirteenth century Plano Carpini found, at the camp of the Khan, Christians in the family of the ruler, Greek priests, and a Greek Church. The Khan himself said to the traveller, Rubruquis: 'Just as God has given different fingers to the hand, so He has shown to man various ways by which he can attain his eternal salvation. To you He has given the book which you do *not* follow, to us He has given our sorcerers whose laws we obey.'[3]

The Mongols never touched either the institutions or the religion of the country; they never tried to Tartarise Russia, and allowed the inhabitants to retain for two centuries their nationality, customs, habits, language, and religion. The clergy were not only exempt from taxes and capitation fee, but the Tartars were forbidden, under the penalty of death, either to touch the property belonging to ecclesiastical institutions or to insult the Christian religion. Many prelates enjoyed special favour in Sarai. The fact that the churches were exempt from rates and taxes induced a great number of people to seek refuge under the protecting wings of the Church and the monasteries, and to enter these holy places as inmates. All this tended to increase also the wealth and power of the Church. But it gave ample opportunity to this very Church to develop the germs of civilisation, and to prevent the country stagnating at the point where it was surprised by the invasion of the Mongol Hordes. The Church, how-

[1] Hammer Purgstall, p. 189. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 190.

[3] *Cf.* Plano Carpini, quoted by Brueckner, *Geschichte Russlands*, p. 454.

ever, did nothing of the kind. Russian authors themselves admit this fact. 'The Mongols,' says Ikonnikov, 'put no obstacles in the way of the clergy in order to prevent them from fostering book-knowledge in the line of Latin scholasticism behind the cloister walls, if only the Russians had wished for it.' The clergy never availed themselves of the opportunities they had to soften and refine the manners of the people, to better the condition of the women and to spread general education. Rambaud's idea that it was due to Byzantine influence is also, to my mind, not convincing. 'In separating Russia from the West,' says Rambaud, 'in making her a political dependency of Asia it perpetuated in the country that half-civilisation of Byzantium, the inferiority of which to European civilisation became daily more obvious.' Alexander Hertzen too expressed similar views. 'Byzantium has conducted Russia to sad and degrading times; it has blessed and sanctioned all the coercive measures taken against the liberty of the people. It has taught the Tsars Byzantine despotism, it has prescribed and ordained to the people a blind obedience and a complete resignation.'[1] In the abyss of Byzantinism the individualism of Russian nationality was hopelessly lost. Russian energy and *joie de vivre*, independence and personality were thus carried to the grave at the sound of Byzantine Church music and under Byzantine funeral rites. Another authority[2] also asserts that Mongolism and Byzantinism retarded Russia's development. The faith which came from Constantinople, 'la fille décrépite de la vieille Rome,' which carried already in her the germs of a moral and political decadence, destined to become a prey of the Turks, cut Russia off from Europe. Against these observations I should like to point out that Byzantinism in its source contained perhaps as many civilising influences as Catholicism which Russia, however, did not utilise. The classical inheritance which had escaped the destruction and the storms of barbarian invasion served as a basis for Europe's further in-

[1] Hertzen, *Du développement*, p. 109.
[2] Brueckner, *Geschichte Russlands*, p. 283.

tellectual development. The Latin tongue spread and promulgated by the Catholic Church was one of the principal vehicles and most powerful instruments.

The Latin tongue, which had become universal in the West, was the common speech of the educated classes, and of scholars, and thus it was possible for the classical heritage to be handed over to the Middle Ages. Europe thus slowly, but steadily and continuously, worked out and developed its literary materials, and advanced towards the Renaissance. Russia, cut off from Latinism, lost this opportunity. All this is undoubtedly true. Yet there is no reason whatever—and we have seen that Mongolism rather tended than otherwise to protect the development of civilisation—why, with the aid and help of Greek, Russia could not have taken over and preserved the classical inheritance of Hellas. If Byzantine influence was great and paramount in Russia it was only limited to the political sphere, but it amounted to nothing in the domains of culture and civilisation and learning. Russia seems to have been incapable of reaping any scientific and cultural benefit from her contact with Greece. From among the treasures which Hellas had bequeathed, Russia only chose the spirit of submission, of world contempt, and of resignation. She chose these, not because she was compelled to do so, but because they were compatible with the popular character. Men usually appreciate most what is nearest to their temperament and their intellectual level. Thus, owing to the feminine receptivity of the Russian and his eye for the concrete, it was the splendid ritual that attracted him, but the civilising factors that lay hidden beneath the gorgeous garb escaped him. The outward ritualism and pomp of the Greek Church found a fertile soil in the feminine nature of the Slav. And, even at the risk of being accused of exaggeration, I may venture to say that the religion, far from changing the nature of the people, underwent a change in itself. The Russian took from this new religion what suited him most. I have somewhat enlarged upon this question, as I wish to point out that neither Mongolism nor Byzantinism, neither historical misfor-

tunes nor dangerous civilisations, are to be blamed for Russia's tardiness and her inferior place in the history of Europe's advancement. If she remained behind Europe it was not the fault of Byzantium, nor was it the result of the Mongolian invasion. The causes lie much deeper; they are to be sought in the national character and its femininity. This is important for the further understanding of the growth and development of Russian autocracy. Had the popular character been less feminine and more self-reliant it would not have suffered the ascendency of Autocracy nor the influence of the Church. Solovyef and the Church historian Makary both agree that even without the Mongol invasion Russia would have made no progress, and would have remained in a state of stagnation, judging from the progress Russia made in the two and a half centuries preceding the invasion.

§ 7. ***Russia under Mongolian Rule.***—It would be not only uninteresting to the reader but also out of place to follow the details of Russian history during the Mongolian rule. When Batu had subdued Russia he summoned the Russian princes to appear in his camp in the Khan's golden tent, or *siru ordu* (whence the name Golden Horde),[1] which was also styled sarai, or palace, and pay him homage. The Russian princes obeyed the command. 'The depression of mind,' says Oustryalof, 'was so general, prince and people were so discouraged, that they saw their safety only in unconditional obedience and submission, and at the first call they appeared in Sarai.' Yaroslaf Vsevolodovich, who was now Prince of Vladimir, was the first to betake himself to the Tartar camp. He was followed by the princes of Souzdal, Ryazan and Tshernigof. Batu confirmed Yaroslaf as Grand Prince, but ordered him to pay homage to the great Khan himself, who dwelt somewhere in the heart of Asia, on the banks of the river Amour. Yaroslaf obeyed, he traversed the Steppe, and knelt before the Khan Kujuk. But on the return journey he died. His son Alexander, Prince of Novgorod, continued his father's policy. Alexander Yaroslavich, who, on account of his gallantry, is one

[1] *Cf.* Howorth, *ibid.* p. 66

of the popular heroes in Russian history, had brilliantly defended Novgorod against the Swedish and Livonian armies, and won a great victory over the Swedish army on the Neva, whence he received the title of Nevsky. He was also successful in gaining a victory over the Livonian sword-bearing knights at the battle of the Ice. Yet, although courageous in his campaigns against the southern enemies, he adopted a different policy, or rather followed that of his father, in his relations with the Golden Horde. He understood that dismembered, divided Russia was not in a position to venture on a new struggle with the powerful enemy, and that only entire submission and unconditional obedience could save Russia from complete ruin and destruction. By his frequent journeys to Sarai and his rich presents he gained the favour of the Mongol ruler and of his son Sartak. 'Not weakness, not cowardice,' says Oustryalof, 'but wisdom, prudence, and love of his country compelled him to grovel before the conqueror, for he had given ample proof of his bravery in his campaigns against the enemy.' After Alexander's death his brothers and sons did not follow the policy of the victor of the Neva. They quarrelled among themselves, and frequently called in the Tartar hosts to their assistance, thus enabling the princes of Moscow—which town first appears in Russian history during the Mongolian period—to group and unite under their sway, the whole of Eastern (or North-eastern) Russia.

§ 8. ***Lithuania.***—The South had also suffered. Kief fell into insignificance, although it still continued to be the bone of contention between the princes. Among the southern principalities Galicia, or Galitsh, succeeded in recovering from the Mongol excesses, and in attaining to a certain degree of prosperity under the prince Daniel Romanovich. Daniel was the last to recognise the suzerainty of the Khan and to make the customary appearance. He never gave up the hope of gaining independence. He even entered into relations with Pope Innocent IV., promising to unite the Greek Orthodox Church to that of Rome. The Pope sent him the kingly

crown and ordered a crusade to be preached against the Golden Horde. All this, however, led to no results, and Daniel broke off his relations with Rome, retaining, however, the title of king. His grandson Youry (George) added Volhynia to Galicia, but after he died, the King of Poland, Casimir III., annexed the latter (1340), whilst Volhynia fell into the hands of the Lithuanian princes.

The Lithuanian tribes dwelt in the dense forests between the Nyemen and the Duna, and were tributary to Russia until the invasion of the Mongols. Yet ever and anon they repudiated their fealty, and on the approach of the Russians hid themselves in their sacred forests. Their tribute of bark and brooms cost the Russians rather dearly. Immediately after the invasion of the Mongols, however, they emerged from their marshes and forests and attacked the neighbouring Russian principalities, especially Polozk and Volhynia. The discord among the Russians facilitated their conquests. They took Polozk, Minsk and Vitebsk, then, turning southwards as far as Pinsk, threatened Volhynia. As long as the Lithuanians were ruled by small princes their incursions were not too dangerous, and the Russian arms were on the whole successful against them. But in the thirteenth century Mindovg, one of the Lithuanian princes, contrived to unite the Lithuanian territories under his sway, and thus create Lithuanian unity. Threatened by the Livonian sword-bearing knights, the cunning prince embraced Catholicism; but he soon recanted the new faith and reintroduced pagan rites. The power and importance of the country were still increased under his successor, Guedimin (1320-1345), who, availing himself of the weakness of Russia, brought under his sway the western Russian provinces, including Volhynia and Kief. He assumed the title of Grand Prince of Lithuania and Russia and established his capital in Vilna, built on the banks of the Vily.

Guedimin divided his dominions among his sons, but the most intelligent among them, Olgerd, contrived to gain the suzerainty over Lithuania. His son Jagello (1377-1434)

endeavoured to establish, by fair or foul means, the unity of Lithuania. He married in 1386 Hedwig, or Yadwiga, heiress to the crown of Poland, at the same time embracing Catholicism and introducing Christianity into Lithuania. Jagello having received the crown of Poland, together with the hand of Hedwig, and united Lithuania to Poland, transferred his capital to Cracow. This gave rise to a spirit of discontent among his Lithuanian subjects. Vitovt (grandson of Guedimin and son of Kestaut), at the head of the malcontents, compelled Jagello to cede Lithuania to him as an independent principality, with the title of Grand Prince. Vitovt was extremely intelligent, enterprising, and energetic. He distinguished himself in his campaigns against the Teutonic order and defeated them in a battle at Tannenberg (1410), by which he crushed their power for ever. Vitovt concentrated all his endeavours to achieve the independence of Lithuania. Thus Lithuania was dependent in religious matters upon the Metropolitan of Moscow. He addressed himself to the Patriarch, asking him to send a Metropolitan for Kief, which now belonged to Lithuania. Having met with a refusal he convened a council of the Orthodox Bishops from Western Russia, and appointed a Bulgarian, named Gregory Tsamblak, as Metropolitan of Kief (1415). He even conceived the idea of separating Lithuania from Poland as an independent kingdom, but failed. He died in 1430, and the power and importance of Lithuania practically ceased until it was definitely united with Poland under King Alexander (1501).

CHAPTER V

THE RISE OF MOSCOW

§ 1. ***The Foundation of Moscow.***—Thus we have seen that Western Russia was gradually gathered under the sway of Lithuania and was practically united to Poland in the fourteenth century. In the East there arose a new princi-

pality, that of Moscow, which gradually extended its sway over the majority of the principalities. Moscow is mentioned by the chronicler for the first time towards 1147. It is also mentioned under the name of Kutzkovo (Kutshkovo).[1] It is here also that Youry (George) is supposed to have entertained his ally and confederate Prince Svyatoslaf Olgovich. Tradition relates that the territory formerly belonged to a certain boyarin, Stephan Kutshko. Youry Dolgorouky punished him for some crime and seized his possessions. Kutshkovo beautifully situated on the River Moskva and surrounded by dense forests attracted his attention, and he erected there a town which was named Moscow after the river. It was, however, quite an insignificant little place for some time. The founder of the Moscow principality appears to have been Daniel, the younger son of Alexander Nevsky, who received Moscow and a few villages as his appanage. Daniel Alexandrovich was succeeded in 1303 by his son Youry (George), distinguished for his struggle with the princes of Tver. Youry was succeeded by his brother Ivan, surnamed Kalita (1328-1341).

§ 2. ***Ivan Kalita.***—The reasons of the gradual expansion and increase of influence of the Moscovite principality, which rose from insignificance to the height of power, are manifold. The chief cause, however, is to be attributed to the fact that the rulers of Moscow early understood how to avail themselves of circumstances and of the weakness of the neighbouring principalities, and for generations followed *one* policy, viz.—to collect and unite the scattered territories and thus increase the strength of Russia. They were stimulated by the clearly preconceived plan to unite the scattered forces of the fatherland, with a view to shaking off the foreign yoke. 'Fortified by new and nascent hope, many of the neighbouring territories seemed to perceive that their salvation depended on unity, and instead of opposing, greatly helped to strengthen the new rising force. The Moscovite princes were greatly aided in this endeavour by the clergy. 'Thus,' says Rambaud, 'there

[1] Bestyoushef Ryoumin.

grew up a dynasty of princes, politic and persevering, prudent and pitiless, of gloomy and terrible mien, marked on the forehead by the stamp of fatality. They were the founders of the Russian Empire as the Capetians were of the French monarchy'[1] It must be borne in mind that at that time the word of the Khan decided the struggles and disputes of the Russian princes. The Mongolian ruler's 'word was his sword.' The princes availed themselves of Russia's mutilated condition and of the favour of the Horde which they gained by various means. Not bravery, but cleverness and intrigue were the arms that decided then. And the Moscow rulers were distinguished, if not by their nobility of character, by a shrewd and remarkable understanding of their own interests. They understood the spirit of the time and quickly adapting themselves to it, did their best to lay the foundations of their autocracy, in which for the moment seemed to lie the salvation of Russia, but which was destined to weigh heavily upon the nation at a future period. By constant journeys to the Horde, by servility and rich presents, Ivan Kalita gained the favour of Khan Usbeck, and rented the right to collect the tribute due to the Horde. This right he made instrumental in augmenting his own treasury. One other step, of a very far-reaching importance, taken by Ivan Kalita was to transfer the seat of the Metropolitan from Vladimir to Moscow. He thus raised Moscow to the dignity of a capital in religious matters, and to that of a kind of Mecca, and he succeeded in making the clerical influence subservient to his ambitions and plans for organisation. Ivan was surnamed Kalita (or the purse), either because he usually carried an alms bag in his girdle, or because he was very parsimonious and bought villages and towns with his money. He also built the Cathedral of the Assumption (or Ouspensky Sobor) in Moscow, where the Metropolitan Peter, the first to reside in Moscow, was buried. This Metropolitan is supposed to have predicted the future of Moscow in the following words: 'This city will become renowned among all the Russian cities. Metropolitans will dwell in her, and she

[1] *Cf.* Rambaud, *ibid*, p. 157.

will lay her hands on the shoulders of her enemies, and God will be praised in her, and my bones shall repose in her.'[1] Ivan Kalita also added Tver to his dominions.

§ 3. After his death (1340) his sons Simeon Gordy (the Proud) and Ivan II. succeeded him, one after the other, on the throne of Moscow. Simeon fell a victim to the plague or the black death that raged in Western Europe and in Russia. Simeon the Proud (1340-1353) was succeeded by his brother Ivan II. (1353-1359), who was of a peaceful disposition. His son Dimitry, surnamed Donskoy (1359-1389), distinguished himself by a splendid victory over Khan Mamaï in the battle of Kulikovo Pole (field of woodcocks), at the junction of the Nepryadva and the Don. The battle, celebrated in Russian history, was fought on the 8th of September 1380, and from his victory Dimitry derived his surname Donskoy (of the Don). Yet, however splendid the battle of Kulikovo might have been, Russia was not yet strong enough to shake off the Mongol yoke. Mamaï was succeeded by Tokhtamysh, who invaded Russia when Dimitry refused to pay him homage, stormed Moscow, and sacked the capital. Dimitry had to yield. Dimitry was succeeded by his son Vasily I. (1389-1425), and his grandson Vasily II., the Blind (1425-1462). During the reign of Vasily I. there was a further invasion of Tartar Hordes under a new conqueror, Tamerlane, who came from the depths of Middle Asia, vanquished Tokhtamysh, and devastated Russian territories as far as the banks of the Don.

§ 4. Vasily II. (the Blind), who, in consequence of a struggle in the family for the Principality, had been deprived of sight by his cousin, Dimitry Shemyaka, was nevertheless supported on the throne by the boyarins and the inhabitants of Moscow. His period is perhaps important for the fact that it was during his reign that Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks (1453). It also marks the birth of Russia's influence as a Christian power in the Orient. During the reign of Vasily II. the definite breakdown of the Mongolian power began. A

[1] Bestyoushef Ryoumin.

split ensued in the vast empire, and two new khanats were founded, which division subsequently facilitated Russia's entire liberation. The two new khanats were those of Kazan and the Crimea.

CHAPTER VI

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AUTOCRACY

§ 1. ***Ivan III., 1462-1505.***—The reign of Ivan III., which extended over forty-three years, was distinguished by many great and important events, and may be considered as the beginning of Russian autocracy. An intelligent and enterprising prince, Ivan availed himself of opportunities, and not only extended the boundaries of his Empire, but added strength and splendour to the throne of Moscow by his alliances and diplomatic relations with the West. His first step towards increase of territory was the annexation of Novgorod, whose liberties and privileges he entirely crushed. This town played such an important part in Russian history that a brief sketch will not be out of place here.

§ 2. ***The Political Institutions of Novgorod.***—Like the inhabitants of the majority of the provinces, those of Novgorod could not exist without a prince at their head. 'We wish to have a prince like all the other nations,' they said. And so when Svyatoslaf divided his dominions among his sons, Novgorod also asked for a share in the princely family. 'If you do not come to us,' they threatened, 'we shall find one elsewhere.' Nevertheless the relations between prince and inhabitants differed from those existing in other principalities. The power and rights accorded to the ruler were somewhat limited. The *Vetshé*, or national assembly, which existed also in the other Russian principalities, attained a higher degree of political power in Novgorod than elsewhere. The prince was usually elected 'on conditions,' and when the citizens were dissatisfied with him they uncere-

moniously dispensed with his services. The prince was the supreme magistrate, but he had no right to govern through his representatives. He could practically do nothing without first consulting the Vetshé and the Possadnik, or the Mayor, who was usually elected from one of the first families in the city. The Vetshé not only invited the princes and expelled them, but it also elected the Archbishops, decided the issue in matters of war and peace, and even in quarrels arising between the Prince and the Possadnik. According to an old Slavonic principle, the decision of the Vetshé had to be unanimous. The majority, however, often got rid of the minority by throwing it into the Volkhof, and thus arrived at unanimity. Among the officials of Novgorod, besides the Possadnik, were the Tyssyatsky, who was a military chief and had the militia under his orders, and the Starost, or district mayor for the various quarters or parts of the town. Although all the free population of Novgorod was entitled to take part in the deliberations of the Vetshé, class distinctions existed. The division into the aristocracy and the democracy was a source of much friction, and was instrumental in weakening Novgorod's power and in crushing her liberties. The power of Novgorod and her exceptional constitution were greatly due to geographical position, extensive commerce and relations with the western, and the Hanseatic towns. Being a marshy and sandy country, Novgorod was practically compelled to extend her commerce and thus become an important commercial centre. The Novgorodians traded with Greece, Bulgaria, and Scandinavia, and later with the Isle of Gothland and the Hanseatic towns. The commercial relations between the trading guests, or merchants, were regulated by special laws. Novgorod thus stood in close relationship to Western Europe, and could have become a connecting link between that part of the Continent and Tartar Russia.[1] For it must be borne in mind that Novgorod had luckily escaped the invasion of the Tartars. Batu, as it will be remembered, turned back owing to the marshes and swamps that hindered his

[1] *Cf.* Brueckner, *ibid.*, p. 65.

progress. The inhabitants of Novgorod differed in dress and mode of living from those of other Russian towns. It was natural that when Moscow began to expand its power, and several generations of rulers had concentrated their activity, energy, and intellect in grouping round Moscow all the north-western territories, and in establishing and consolidating their autocratic power, that they should avail themselves of every possibility to crush the quasi-independence of Novgorod which might at any moment become a dangerous adversary. In spite of her being ruled by a prince, Novgorod was a kind of Republic, and there was always the fear that her example might prove contagious.

From 1328 Novgorod practically belonged to Moscow, and was governed by a boyarin sent by the Grand Prince. During the second half of the fifteenth century trouble increased, and Ivan III., availing himself of a dispute between his representative and the Novgorodians, completely crushed the last vestige of Republican independence in the once powerful and flourishing city. The Vetshé decided to conclude a treaty with Casimir IV. of Poland. Ivan, after some hesitation, invaded the dominions of the Republic, and in 1478 annexed Novgorod as one of his patrimonies. 'I wish to rule in Novgorod, as I am ruling in Moscow,' he sent word, when the Novgorodians tried to come to some understanding; 'there should be neither Possadnik nor Vetshé, but only my sovereign will.' Novgorod's military forces could not resist the power of Moscow. Casimir sent no help, and the clergy sided with Moscow. The Republicans had to yield, and Novgorod was annexed. The famous *bell* which called the inhabitants to the Vetshé, was taken to Moscow, where it is still kept in the Arsenal.

Martha Boretzkaya, the widow of the Possadnik, who, by reason of her wealth, had immense influence in the city, was sent as a prisoner to Moscow. *Sic transit gloria mundi.* Novgorod had no initiative and no strong individuals who make history. Even in commercial spheres it was dependent upon the foreigner, the Hanseatic towns. Ivan

having thus crushed the independence of Novgorod, soon dealt the last blow to its commercial prosperity. In 1494 he suddenly had fifty foreign merchants arrested and their goods confiscated. The Hanseatic commerce came to an end, for the merchants fled from the city.

§ 3. ***Ivan's Marriage.*** — After annexing Novgorod, Ivan further extended his territory by adding Tver and Ryazan. He was intelligent enough to appreciate the advantages that would accrue to Russia from alliances with the West. The first step in this direction was his marriage with Zoe, a niece of the last Byzantine Emperor, the daughter of Thomas Palæologus. When Tsaregrad fell into the hands of the conquering Turk, Thomas Palæologus, with his children, found a refuge in Rome. The Pope, it seems, at the instigation of the famous Cardinal Bessarion, offered the hand of the Greek princess to Ivan. Owing to her aversion for Latinism, the princess, so Bessarion said, had refused two occidental princes—the King of France and the Prince of Milan. The offer was accepted, although there was a movement against it among the boyarins and the priests. The Pope, Sixtus IV., hoped by this marriage to unite the Greek and Latin Churches; this hope, however, was not realised. The Russian chroniclers sing the charms of the Greek princess, and even an Italian author seems to have admired the 'little mouth of the princess and her manner of spitting.' [1] The poet, Luigi Pulci, author of *Morgante Maggiore*, however, in a letter addressed to his friend Lorenzo di Medici, sneered at 'that mountain of fat,' [2] who offended his æsthetic taste, fastidious as it had grown by constant friendship with the graceful and cultured women of the Italian Renaissance. Whatever the personal beauty and charms of the daughter of the Palæologi might have been, she was in any case of a very ambitious character, and it is to her influence that Ivan's final refusal to pay tribute to the Horde and his determination to

[1] *Cf.* Le P. Pierling, *La Russie et L'Orient*, 51.

[2] 'Questa cupola di norcia, enzi questa montagna di sugna.'—Lettere di L. Pulci, xxvi.

shake off the Tartar yoke, is ascribed. The marriage took place in 1472, the Greek princess taking the name of Sophia. Ivan, at the instigation of his Grecian wife, availed himself of the split and the friction in the Golden Horde, and finally, when the ambassadors of Khan Ahmed arrived in Moscow, refused to pay any tribute. The Khan invaded Russia, but the Tartar hosts were beaten by the Russian forces on the Oka in 1480, and compelled to retreat. The year 1480 is considered as the date of the final deliverance of Russia from the Mongolian yoke. Ivan further increased his territory by annexing Viatka.

§ 4. ***Relations with the West.***—The influence of Sophia (Zoe) Palæologus was felt in Russia's closer relations with the West. Outside Russia the Renaissance had dawned upon Mediæval Europe and tinted with orient colours the sombre sky. The first rays had been flashed on the horizon by the Italian poets, dissipating the darkness here and there. A few rays of the rising sun now illuminated the Kremlin. From Italy architects and artisans left for the North. Aristotle Fioraventi erected in Moscow the beautiful Cathedral of the Ascension (Ouspensky Sobor).[1] Ivan III. was also the first to enter into diplomatic relations with the Courts of Europe, and frequent embassies were sent to Turin, Florence, Rome, and Naples. He also made alliances with the King of Hungary and the German Emperor Maximilian, with Denmark on account of their common hostility against Sweden, and with the Sultan for commercial purposes. The Greeks in the retinue of the princess were mostly employed for these diplomatic missions. Foreign artisans also founded cannons. A silver mine was discovered in the Petshora district, and money was coined.[2]

§ 5. ***Ivan's Character.***—Ivan also issued a code of law, known as the Sudebnik (1497), based on the Rousskaya Pravda of Yaroslaf. Thus the marriage of Ivan with the daughter of the Palæologi on the one hand opened the way

[1] It had been designed under Basil.

[2] Among the foreigners who came to Russia were one or two medical men, but their lot was rather unfortunate.

to the West, but on the other it consolidated the autocratic power. The Alliance with the Imperial House, which for Russia represented the incarnation of Imperialism, added a new halo to the throne of Moscow. The boyarins were gradually excluded from taking any part in the deliberations, and that vainglory noticeable to such a degree in the last scions of the House of Romanof, that feeling of being a race apart, dwelling on Himalayan heights, was gradually evolved. The conception of the Tsars as Christian Cæsars, as terrestrial deities, before whom all men were slaves, and before whom there could be no independent institutions, no individual personal merit, no talent, no rights nor privileges—not even men, but subjects, fervent worshippers of a sublime autocrat, the anointed of God—found a ready and fertile soil in the national character; and the chains were forged which the nation was destined to drag for centuries. 'Ivan III.,' says Le P. Pierling, 'was possessed of all the qualities and faults of his race. With a strong will and a cruel energy he pursued his aim. Without scruples as to the choice of his means, without a spark of pity either for his family or for his subjects, he was bent upon consolidating his power and upon building up a compact and redoubtable State—no matter how much blood he had to pay for it. Did the grandson of Ivan Kalita cherish the ideal of a mighty Empire? Had he any prophetic visions of the grandeur of his country? Was it some hidden power that guided him, or was he animated by mere personal and egotistical motives, or fascinated by Mongolian dreams? The fact in any case remains that Ivan III. extended his power, and thus became the founder of Russian autocracy—*i.e.*, a personal, absolute, and arbitrary government.'[1]

It was also during the reign of Ivan that mention is first made of the Cossacks.

§ 6. ***Basil (or Vasily) III.—Annexation of Pskof.*** —Ivan died in 1505, leaving a powerful realm to his son Basil (Vasily) III., 1505-1533. By his first wife, Maria of Tver, Ivan had a son, 'Ivan the young,' who died pre-

[1] *La Russie et l'Orient*, p. 12.

maturely. Ivan the young had married Ellen, the daughter of the Gospodar of Moldavia, and the issue of this marriage was a son, Dimitry. Ivan, however, passed over his grandson and appointed his second son Basil (Vasily), the son of Sophia, as his successor. Although he could not rival his father in talent and intelligence, Basil nevertheless continued the policy inaugurated by Ivan, by crushing the still independent principalities, and by his foreign relations. Pskof and Ryazan were thus finally annexed. Just as in the case of Novgorod, factions had arisen in Pskof and a state of anarchy ensued. Basil availed himself of the state of affairs and crushed the Vetshé of Pskof (1510). Like her elder sister Novgorod, Pskof had to bow to her fate, and the great bell was borne to Moscow. It is interesting to notice that one of the measures of the new rule was the introduction of an *inland tariff*. The chronicler, relating the fall of Pskof, portrays her grief in poetic language—'O glorious city of Pskof, wherefore dost thou cry and lament?' And the noble city of Pskof replies—'How can I but cry and lament! A many-winged eagle has swooped down upon me, and his wings were like the claws of a lion. He has taken my three cedars of Lebanon: my beauty, my riches, and my children. Our land is devastated, our city ruined, and our commerce destroyed. Our brothers have been carried off to a place where neither our fathers, nor forefathers, nor forebears ever dwelt.'

In a like manner other towns were annexed without any active opposition. The Prince of Ryazan was accused of entertaining a secret alliance with the Khan of the Crimea, and with Sigismundus I., King of Poland. The unhappy prince was invited to Moscow and imprisoned. He managed, however, to escape to Lithuania, but his principality was annexed to the dominions of Moscow, and ruled by a representative (or governor).

§ 7. ***Relations with the West.***—The relations with the West, initiated during the reign of Ivan III., were continued under Basil III. It was at that time that the knowledge of Moscow and of the interior of Russia became

accessible to the people in the West. Baron Sigismund von Herberstein, the 'Russian Columbus,' undertook two voyages to Russia (in 1516-1518 and 1526-1527), and handed down his observations in his famous work, *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii.* Herberstein, with a knowledge of Slavonic languages, could avail himself of Russian chronicles. Two extracts, one a description of Moscow at the beginning of the sixteenth century and another of the Court of Basil III. cannot fail to interest the reader.

§ 8. ***Herberstein's Description of Moscow.***—'The city itself is built of wood, and tolerably large, and at a distance appears larger than it really is, for the gardens and spacious court-yards in every house make a great addition to the size of the city. Not far from the city are some monasteries, which from a distance alone appear like a great city. Moreover, in consequence of the great extent of the city, it is confined by no settled boundary, nor has it any useful defences in the shape of walls, fosses, or ramparts. The streets, however, are blocked in some places by beams thrown across them, and are guarded by watchmen placed there at nightfall, so that no one is allowed access by that way after a stated hour. All who are taken after that by the watchmen are either beaten, stripped, or thrown into prison, unless they happen to be persons of distinction or respectability; and even the latter are generally accompanied home by the watchmen. Such watches are generally set wherever there is an open entrance into the city, for the Mosqwa flows by one side of the city, and the river Jausa, which flows into it under the city itself, has such steep banks that it scarcely admits of being forded. In this latter river many mills have been erected for the public use of the city, which seems to be mainly defended by these streams; with the exception of a few stone houses, churches, and monasteries, it is entirely a city of wood. This city is so broad and spacious, and so very dirty, that bridges have been constructed here and there in the highways and streets, and in the other more distinguished parts. There is a fortress in it built of

burnt tiles, which on one side is washed by the Mosqwa, and on the other by the river Neglina (Neglinaia). The fortress is so large, that it not only contains the very extensive and magnificently-built stone palace of the prince, but also those of the metropolitan bishop and the brothers of the prince, while the peers, and a great many others, have spacious houses within it. The people of Moscow are more cunning and deceitful than all others, their honour being especially slack in business contracts—of which fact they themselves are by no means ignorant, for whenever they traffick with foreigners they pretend, in order to attain greater credit, that they are not men of Moscow, but strangers.'

§ 9. ***Herberstein's Reception by the Tsar.***—Extremely interesting is Herberstein's description of his reception in Moscow.[1] 'The prince,' says Herberstein, 'sat with his head uncovered in a place of distinction higher than the rest, against a wall decorated with a picture of a certain saint, with his hat, called *kopack*, on a stand on his right hand, and on his left, his staff with a cross on it, called *possoch*, and a washhand basin and two ewers, with a towel placed by them. They say that the prince believes that in giving his hand to an ambassador of the Roman creed, he gives it to an unclean and impure person; and that, therefore, after their departure, he immediately washes his hands.' Herberstein was invited to dine with the Grand Prince Basil, and he gives a graphic account of the dinner and the banqueting room, where he sat at a separate table opposite the prince. 'On the tables were placed vessels, some filled with vinegar, some with pepper, and others with salt, which were all arranged along the length of the table, so that every fourth guest had each of these three articles before him.' According to Herberstein's description, the Court was very brilliant, and all the vessels on the table were of pure gold. The ambassador was also invited to hunt with the prince in his preserves, near Moscow.

[1] The reader will find this passage in the chapter: On their Manner of Receiving and Treating Ambassadors, *Rerum Moscoviticarum*, vol. ii., p. 112.

Among the other events during this reign, we shall only mention the annexation of Smolensk in 1522, and Basil's prohibition to his subjects to frequent the fair of Kazan, and the foundation of the famous fair of Makaref, now held in Nishny-Novgorod.[1]

§ 10. ***Basil's Marriage.***—Basil's marriage with Salome (or Solomonida), who had been chosen to this high honour à la Ahasuerus, King of Persia, was without issue. He consequently divorced her, sending her into a monastery, and married Helena Glinskaya, niece of a Lithuanian prince, Michael Glinsky (1526). It seems that this procedure displeased many boyarins and some ecclesiastics, especially the famous Maximus Græcus. By his second wife Basil had two sons, Ivan and Youry. Basil was an autocrat, not unsparing in his cruelties. Yet he continued his relations with the West, and diplomatic missions were exchanged. If the marriage of Ivan III. with Sophia Palæologus to some extent opened Russia to Italian influence, that of Basil with Helena Glinskaya intoduced German education into Russia. Helena was a Lithuanian, and highly educated. In her retinue many princely families came over from Lithuania, and Western European influence began to penetrate into Russia by way of Poland and Lithuania. The relations with Italy and Rome were also continued, and it was during the reign of Basil (1521-1525) that Paoletto Centurione visited Moscow with the intention of opening the gates of 'Holy Russia' to Italian merchants. His endeavours, however, met with complete failure. The cherished plans of the Popes, viz., the union of the Latin and Greek Churches, were continually shattered against the walls of the Kremlin.[2]

[1] Nishny-Novgorod was built in 1221.

[2] Pierling, *Popes and Tsars*, p. 13.

CHAPTER VII

IVAN THE TERRIBLE

§ 1. ***Ivan IV. the Terrible (Grozny) 1533-1584.***—Basil appointed his wife Helena Glinskaya as Regent during the minority of his son Ivan, to whom the people swore allegiance. She died, however, five years afterwards, and is supposed to have been poisoned by the boyarins, who were hostile to her. The young ruler remained under the tutelage of the boyarins, among whom the family of Shuisky, and especially Basil Shuisky, played a great part. Ivan was of an energetic and determined character. At the age of thirteen he suddenly ordered the arrest of Andrew Shuisky, the Prince Regent. He was seized by the prince's servants, thrown to the dogs, and torn to pieces in presence of the dumb-stricken boyarins. Autocracy triumphed. The young prince surrounded himself with his maternal relatives, the Glinskys.

§ 2. ***Ivan assumes the Title of Tsar.***—In 1547 Ivan was solemnly crowned by the Metropolitan Makary, and assumed the title of Tsar. The title of Tsar, which is given in old Slavonic to the rulers of Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, and Judæa, reminded the people of these ancient potentates, of whom Ivan was supposed to be the heir, and added great prestige and dignity to the throne of Moscow.[1] In 1561 Ivan obtained a document from Joseph, Patriarch of Constantinople, 'which confirmed the right of the rulers of Moscow to the title of Tsar.' In spite of Karamsin's explanations, however, the word Tsar is only an abbreviation of Cæsar.

§ 3. ***Ivan's Marriage.***—The second great event of 1547, and by which Ivan again gave proof of his independence and vigour, was his marriage. 'I do not wish,' he told the Metropolitan Makary, 'to marry outside my Empire, but I will take to wife one of my own realm.' The boyarins and

[1] *Cf.* Karamsin.

the Metropolitan wept for joy when they heard how determined and self-willed the Tsar was, in spite of his youth. The message circulated through the realm to search for a wife for the young Tsar, and which is preserved in the Imperial archives of Russia, reminds one of the Persian ruler in the Book of Esther. Fair young virgins were sought for the king among the daughters of his boyarins and nobles. And officers were appointed in all the provinces of the realm that 'they may gather together' all the fair young maidens to the city of Moscow and the palace Kremlin, unto the custody of the Tsar's chamberlain. And wherever the commandment and the decree was heard many maidens were assembled. And so it came to pass that Anastasia Romanovna, the daughter of the boyarin Roman Zakharin Koshkin, obtained grace and favour in the sight of Ivan, so that he set the royal crown upon her head and made her Tsaritza. This marks the entry of the Romanofs into Russian history, and the scions of this house were destined to preside over it at a later period.[1]

§ 4. ***Ivan's Rule.***—The clever and gentle Anastasia had a great influence for good upon the young Tsar. Two worthies, Sylvester and Adashef, became his principal counsellors. Ivan at this time reorganised the municipal administration by convoking the Zemsky Sobor. A new Sudebnik or code of law was issued. In the following year a council assembled to regulate Church reforms. The book containing the decisions of this council is known under the title of Stoglaf, or Book of Hundred Chapters. At the same time the expansion in the East was continued. Kazan was conquered and annexed to the Moscovite realm (1552), and four years later the weak state of Astrakhan, which rose on the ruins of the Golden Horde, shared the same fate. The boundaries of Ivan's realm were thus extended as far as the Caspian Sea.

§ 5. ***Diplomatic Relations with the West.***—

[1] The boyarin Roman Zakharin Koshkin, the father of Anastasia, was a descendant of Ivan Kobyla, who migrated to Russia from Prussia in the fourteenth century.

Following in the footsteps of his grandfather and father, Ivan extended the commercial relations with the West, and invited artisans and engineers to Russia. He despatched a certain Hans Schlitt to Germany in order to engage for the Tsar's service artists, scholars, artisans, and mechanics. Schlitt induced a great number of people to follow him, and the company was on its way to Russia when he was suddenly arrested in Lubeck and his retinue scattered. The German Emperor's attention had been called to the danger which threatened the Empire if Russia were allowed to avail herself of all the means gained by modern civilisation.[1] Direct communications by land with the West were rather difficult, and obstacles were continually laid in the way by Poland. By sea, again, the only way was the White Sea and the Icy Ocean. It was by this long sea route that commercial relations were established between Russia and England.

§ 6. ***Russia's Commercial Relations with England.***—The commercial relations with England were established in the following manner:—

In 1527 Sebastian Cabot pointed out the possibility of finding a north-west passage to China and India. A new society, 'The Mystery, Company and Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers for the discovery of unknown lands' was established, and in 1553 an expedition was sent out under Hugh Willoughby,—'a man of good birth and singularly energetic character'—and Richard Chancellor. Three ships left England on the 20th of May. In August a storm separated the vessels, and Sir Hugh Willoughby and his companions were frozen to death on the Northern coast.[1] Richard Chancellor, however, reached the mouth of the northern Dwina, where he was welcomed by fishermen, who offered him provisions without being asked. 'Our men soon learned that the country was Russia and Muscovy, and that in these realms Ivan Vasilivich ruled and governed a great

[1] Brueckner, *ibid.*, p. 60.

[2] Willoughby's body and diary were found in 1554 by Lapland fishermen.

multitude of nations, subject to his Imperial sway.' Chancellor was accordingly invited to proceed to Moscow, of which he has a description. The Englishmen were well received, and dismissed with letters to King Edward VI., in which the Russian Tsar informed his brother the King of England that the latter's subjects might safely visit Russia and freely trade there. In 1556 Chancellor, accompanied by George Killingworth and Richard Gray, revisited Russia. This time Ivan sent back with him Osep Napea, the first Russian ambassador to the English Court. Two ships of this expedition, the *Bona Speranza* and the *Bona Confidentia*, were lost and never heard of again, but Chancellor's own ship, the *Edward Bonaventure*, arrived off the coast of Scotland, but was wrecked in November in Pitsligo Bay.[1] Thus Chancellor, who set sail with the intention of discovering a north-east passage to China, discovered Russia by mere chance. Commercial relations were established. In 1557-1558 Anthony Jenkinson, the famous navigator and tourist, escorted the Russian ambassador Napea back to Moscow. Jenkinson's description of the Tsar Ivan Vasilivich and his manners is extremely interesting.

§ 7. ***Jenkinson's Description of Ivan the Terrible.***—'This Emperour useth great familiaritie, as well unto all his nobles and subjects, as also unto strangers, which serue him either in his warres, or in occupations: for his pleasure is that they shall dine oftentimes in the yeere in his presence; and besides that he is oftentimes abroad, either at one church or another, and walking with his noble men abroad. And by this meanes he is not only beloved of his nobles and commons, but also had in great dread and feare through all his dominions, so that I thinke no prince in Christendom is more feared of his owne than he is, nor yet better beloved. For if he bid any of his Dukes goe, they will runne; if he give any euill or angrie worde to any of them, the partie will not come into his maiesties presence againe of a long time, if he be not sent for, but will faine him

[1] Hakluyt Society. *Voyages and Travels to Russia.* Edited by E. D. Morgan, p. iv.

to be very sicke, and will let the haire of his head grow very long, without either cutting or shauing, which is an euident token that hee is in the Emperour's displeasure: for when they be in their prosperitie, they account it a shame to weare long haire, in consideration whereof they vse to have their heads shauen. His Maiestie heareth all complaints himselfe, and with his owne mouth giueth sentence and iudgement of all matters, and that with expedition: but religious matters he medleth not withall, but referreth them wholy vnto the Metropolitane. His Maiestie retaineth and well rewardeth all strangers that come to serue him, and especially men of warre. He delighteth not greatly in hawking, hunting, or any other pastime, nor in hearing instruments or musike, but setteth all his whole delight vpon two things· First to serue God, as vndoubtedly he is very deuout in his religion; and the second, howe to subdue and conquere his enemies. He hath abundance of gold and silver in his owne handes or treasurie: but the most part of his know not a crowne from a counter, nor gold from copper, they are so much combred there with all; and he that is worth 2, 3, or 4 grotes, is a rich man.'[1] In 1561 Jenkinson went to Persia, and returned to Moscow in 1563. Ivan took a great interest in the Englishman's information concerning that country. He hoped to establish commercial relations with Persia with the assistance of the English. 'It is characteristic,' says Brueckner,[2] 'of the lack of initiative in Russia that such assistance was required. The English were so superior to the Russians in enterprising spirit, commercial experience, general knowledge, and political cleverness, that they soon endeavoured to monopolise all the commerce and industry in Russia.' Many commercial depots were established in Russia, and in 1584 the city of Archangelsk was founded. In spite, however, of the commercial intercourse and the interest taken in Russia by the British public, the dominions remained a *terra incognita*.

[1] Hakluyt Society. *Voyages and Travels to Russia.* Edited by E. D. Morgan, vol. ii. pp. 367-368.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

It is interesting to notice that about a century later Milton wrote a treatise, *A Brief History of Moscovia, etc.* (1682).

Thus England's commercial enterprises and Oriental policy accidentally led to diplomatic relations with Russia. But it was this same interest in the Orient that was destined to become a cause of rivalry between the two countries. The relations with Russia were continued under the reign of Elizabeth, who was desirous of remaining on good terms with the ruler of Moscow. Giles Fletcher was the English ambassador in Russia in 1591, and published his impressions on Russia under the title of *The Russe Commonwealth, or Manner of Government by the Russe Emperor.*

§ 8. ***Ivan's Correspondence with Queen Elizabeth.***—Ivan sought for Elizabeth's alliance against Poland and Sweden, and a special ambassador went to England for this purpose, but the plan met with no success. Ivan consequently wrote a letter to Elizabeth, part of which is as follows :—'We were under the impression that you were a ruler in your country and in possession of power over the State, that you were careful of the honour of your position and of the advantages arising to your realm, but now we perceive that in your dominions, and independently of you, other people, common tradesfolk [moujiky torgovye—trading moujiks = the Commons] are governing, and you yourself are only a low common maid' [poshlaya dyevitza]. This was the style of Russia's Lorenzo di Medici, who, according to many Russians, is considered the precursor of Peter the Great, and who, like Peter, wished to open a window upon Europe.

§ 9. ***Wars against Livonia—Epoch of Cruelties.***—With regard to his foreign policy we ought to mention that Ivan, endeavouring to gain a firmer footing on the Baltic, had plunged into a long war with the Order of the Livonian Knights, and with Poland, where Stephan Batory, the Transsylvanean Voevoda, had succeeded to the throne. The issue of the war was rather unfortunate for Ivan, and his plans to establish Russian influence on the Baltic were frustrated. In the meantime, Anastasia, whose influence upon Ivan had been for

good, died ; Ivan maintained that she had been poisoned, and he gave way to his cruel and savage nature. Sylvester and Adashev were banished. Prince Andrew Kurbsky fled to Lithuania, and thence addressed to the Tsar his famous letters, to which the Tsar replied—in Evangelical style—and a correspondence, which has been preserved, ensued. Kurbsky, it is related, sent his letter to Ivan by his servant Chipanof. With his iron staff Ivan nailed the foot of the messenger on to the step of the *red staircase*, while the heroic servant stoically read the message. Ivan now grew suspicious of all his boyarins, and, leaving Moscow—in sign of disgrace—went with his family to live in the Alexandrowskaya Sloboda (in 1564) and threatened to abdicate. The nation begged of him to remain on the throne. He returned to Moscow, but surrounded himself with a special Praetorian bodyguard, known as the Opritshniky, who became famous for their cruelties. They carried in their saddles a dog's head and a broom, symbols that they bit their master's enemies and swept aside treason. Among these Opritshniky the most intimate friend of Ivan was Malyouta Skuratof. Many were the cruelties and torments of the Tsar. Executions and butcheries, gibbetings and impalements, were ordinary daily occurrences.

§ 10. Many historians have pointed out that cruelties like those of Ivan were not only limited to Russia, but that his century witnessed many sinister deeds perpetrated by the rulers of Christendom. Ivan ought therefore to be compared to the men of his time. 'His was the century,' says Rambaud, 'of Henry VIII., of Ferdinand the Catholic, of Philip II., and of Catherine di Medicis. It was the age of Bartholomew nights, of the Inquisition and of *strapados*.' Others (like Brueckner) have tried to explain the causes that produced that sudden outburst of cruelty in his character, and find the explanation in his early youth abandoned to the harsh treatment of the savage and brutal boyarins.[1] All this deserves, no doubt, consideration. Henry VIII., in his out-

[1] *Cf.* Brueckner.

burst of madness, ordered his queens, dukes, and counts to mount the scaffold, whilst a submissive Parliament praised the ruler as a Solomon in wisdom, a Samson in strength, and an Absalom in beauty. The difference, however—and this is in my mind an important point in Russian history—lies in the manner in which these cruelties were tolerated. Henry was cruel towards the great ones of his realm, but he took care not to offend the masses and the ratepayers. When he dared to do so armed masses flocked together in 1525. Even in his abolition of the Catholic faith Henry respected—or was rather prudent to do so—the wishes of the nation. Ivan the Terrible, however, was not only sanguinary and ferocious as far as his boyarins were concerned, but the royal torments and executions were extended to all his subjects alike. It was perhaps the only instance of complete equality in Russian history. The corpses torn by dogs and bears, the blood that bespattered Moscow, the human flesh upon which the fish, afterwards appreciated at the Tsar's table, grew fat, belonged to all classes of society. Ivan thirsted for the blood of the boyarins as for that of the moujiks. Novgorod was accused of the intention of going over to Poland, and the Novgorodians had to pay heavily for it. The whole district was devastated, and the slaughter lasted for six weeks. Ivan spared neither women nor children. He had not only slain the 'mighty in Israel,' as Kurbsky reproached him in his famous letter, but also the common folk and the merchants.[1] No one dared to stay his hand. Only a madman, some hermit Nicholas, ventured to upbraid the Russian Nero. Nicholas Saloss, it is related, met Ivan during the long Fast and offered him a piece of raw meat, thus plainly reproaching him for his bloodthirsty proclivities.

§ 11. ***The Tsar's Devotions—Religious Discussions.***—When the Tsar was not occupied with his favourite pastimes of butchery and slaughter he was engaged in Church services, or in religious discussions and controversies. Ivan and his 300 Opritshniky dressed up as monks, wearing black

[1] Kostomarof.

robes over their gorgeous gold ornamented garments. Hours were passed in genuflexions and fervent prayer, wherein the Tsar acted the part of chaplain. During the intervals, however, the actor-monks would occasionally rush out and put unfortunate victims to death with their long knives, hidden underneath their cowls.

The Tsar was also fond of religious discussions. In 1570 a Moravian brother, Rokita, came to Russia as member of an Embassy sent by Sigismundus Augustus of Poland, with whom the Tsar had religious arguments. Ivan was a staunch defender of the Greek Orthodox Church, and all the endeavours of the Popes and of the Jesuit, Possevino, who came to Russia during the reign of the Cruel with the intention to convert the Russians to Catholicism, were in vain.

§ 12. ***Ivan's Wives.***—Like Henry VIII., Ivan was married seven or eight times. His first wife, Anastasia, having died, he married Maria, daughter of a Circassian prince, in 1561, and after her death, in 1569, Marfa Sabakina, the daughter of a merchant in Novgorod, who died of consumption. He then married Anna Koltovskaya, whom he repudiated; Anna Vassilichkova, who died soon after her marriage; Vassilisa Melentieva, who shared the same fate; and at last Maria Nogaya, who bore him a son, Dimitry.

§ 13. ***The Conquest of Siberia and Origin of the Cossacks.***—An important event of the last years of Ivan's reign was the conquest of Siberia by the Cossacks of the Don, under their leader Ermack. 'The gloomy horizon of the last years of Ivan's reign was illumined by a bright ray.' The third Tartar kingdom (in addition to Kazan and Astrakhan) was annexed to the Tsardom of Moscow, and added a new lustre to the crown of the Terrible.

§ 14. ***Origin of the Cossacks.***—In the fifteenth century a number of freebooters made their first appearance in the Steppes on the south-eastern confines of Russia, and became known as Cossacks. The word Cossack is of Tartar origin, and means tramp, robber, and was afterwards applied to military forces composed of these tramps. There were

Tartar Cossacks before the appearance of the Russian Cossacks. The Cossacks owe their origin to two causes, external and internal. On the one hand, the rise and establishment of the Moscow autocracy displeased some independent spirits, and they escaped into the open Steppes, where they were at liberty to roam about and to guard their independence. 'It lies in the character of the Russian,' says Kostomarof, 'not to oppose, but to run away and look for a new country.' It is to this fact that Kostomarof ascribes the colonising tendency of the Russians and the expansion of the Empire. On the other hand, the invasion of the Tartars and the pinch of poverty compelled the unhappy inhabitants to leave their homes and wander over the Steppes, where they could breathe the atmosphere of freedom and 'cool their burning brows.' These freebooters or 'free-birds' of the Steppes attacked the Tartars and the passing caravans, both Russian and foreign. They existed chiefly on the Don and the Volga, and although they recognised the rule of Moscow, they nevertheless were a source of trouble to the Government. The latter, however, was too weak to subdue or to punish them. Besides, they practically defended Russia against Tartar invasion. In the course of time, with the disappearance of the Tartar rule, the numbers of the Cossacks increased, and a new branch formed itself on the banks of the Dnieper, consisting of refugees from the Ukraine, who were nominally under the sovereignty of Poland. The Dnieper Cossacks were known as the Zaporozhian, from Zaporozhie, or beyond the other side of the cataracts (of the Dnieper). The life of the Dnieper Cossacks will be described when we speak of Bogdan Khmelnitzky. One of the bands of the Don Cossacks, fearing the vengeance of Moscow (for manifold offences), left this district under the leadership of their hetman Ermack, and descending the Volga reached the Kama. There, in the district of Perm, the rich merchant family of Strogonof obtained a concession of lands from the Tsar. The Strogonofs were also allowed to build fortresses, or *ostrogs*, to defend themselves against the neighbouring tribes. They were too weak, however, to

subdue the enemy. At the suggestion of the Strogonofs, Ermack and his band carried the war into the heart of the neighbouring Tartar estate, took the capital, Isker or Sibir, and subdued the dominions of the Khan Koutshoum. Ermack then sent his friend Koltzo to Moscow and offered the newly conquered kingdom to Ivan the Terrible. The ambassador, who 'beat his brow' and offered a kingdom, was graciously received by the autocrat, who dismissed him with presents.

§ 15. ***Ivan's Death.***—Ivan died in 1584. He left two sons—Feodore, by his first wife Anastasia, and Dimitry, the child of his seventh wife, Maria Nogaya, who was still an infant. His eldest son, Ivan, had died by the hand of his father. In a paroxysm of anger Ivan struck him with his iron staff, inflicting an injury which caused his death in a few days. The attempt of the Nogay family to put young Dimitry upon the throne did not meet with success, and the young prince was consequently sent with his mother to Uglich.

CHAPTER VIII

FEODORE, BORIS, AND THE PERIOD OF TROUBLE

§ 1. ***Feodore*** succeeded to the throne of Moscow. He was a man of a mild disposition, but of a weak constitution, and more inclined to lead a monastic life than to hold the reins of government. According to some historians, he was simply an imbecile, who amused himself in ringing the church bells. Feodore married Irene, sister of Boris Godunof, a mighty boyarin of Tartar descent, who was soon to occupy the throne of Moscow. Owing to Feodore's state of mind, Boris became *de facto* the ruler of Russia. Boris, standing in high favour with his brother-in-law, and beloved by the people, gained great influence, and seeing that Feodore had no issue, it was his hope to succeed to the Russian Crown.

A strong party among the boyarins, together with the Metropolitan Dionysius, looked with suspicion upon the power of Boris. Some of them, the Shuiskys especially, in conjunction with the Metropolitan, endeavoured to persuade Feodore to divorce his wife. The Shuiskys were consequently accused of high treason and banished, whilst the Metropolitan was replaced by the Archbishop Job, a friend of Boris. The reign of Feodore, or practically that of Boris, was distinguished by its peaceful character. Fortresses were built between Kazan and Astrakhan. Smolensk was fortified, and Archangelsk was built. Boris also replaced the wooden wall of Moscow with the stone wall of the Kremlin. Relations with the West were continued, and the commercial intercourse with England was increased. During the reign of Feodore and that of Godunof numbers of young men were sent abroad to study. One of the most important events, one which had a very far-reaching result, was the promulgation of the law by which the rural peasants were entirely bound to the soil. In 1589 the Metropolitan of Moscow assumed the title of Patriarch. The growing power of Boris was well calculated to satisfy his ambitions, and to imbue his enemies with fear and suspicion.

§ 2. ***The Assassination of Dimitry.***—The people were accustomed to look upon the young Dimitry, the son of the Terrible, living at Uglich, as the rightful heir. Suddenly the news was spread that the Tsarevich had died. In Uglich it was rumoured that he had been put to death by assassins hired by Godunof, and a riot ensued. Boris ordered an inquiry to be made; the result was a report which stated that the child had died from a self-inflicted wound. The town of Uglich was severely punished for the riot, and Maria, the mother of the dead Tsarevich, was imprisoned in a monastery. Popular rumour, however, soon declared that the dead child had only been a substitute and that the real Dimitry, the son of the Cruel, had escaped and had been brought to a place of safety. In 1598 Feodore died, and with him the dynasty of the House of Rurik came to an end.

When asked on his deathbed whom he appointed as his successor the Tsar replied: 'I leave everything to the will of God.'

His wife at once retired to a monastery, whither she was soon followed by her brother Boris. It was then suggested to the people of Moscow that they should swear allegiance to the *douma* or Council of Boyarins, but they would not hear of such a thing. Job the Patriarch therefore suggested Godunof as the most suitable person for the vacant throne. A deputation consequently visited him in his place of retreat and offered him the Crown. But it was wise to refuse at first. 'On recule pour mieux sauter,' as the French say. He yielded, however, to constant entreaties.

§ 3. ***Boris Godunof.***—During the ceremony of coronation he is supposed to have turned to the Patriarch and to have exclaimed: 'God is my witness that there shall be neither poor nor orphan in my realm; I will share my last shirt with the nation.' He practically kept his promise and did his utmost to alleviate distress. A famine broke out, and Boris not only distributed money but ordered the construction of many magnificent buildings so as to give employment to poor workmen. The Tsar paid particular attention to the introduction of western civilisation into Russia, and invited many artisans and artists from abroad. He also intended to establish schools, but the clergy opposed this plan. Eighteen young men were therefore sent abroad to acquire knowledge, but few of them, if any, returned home. Godunof's daughter, Xenia, was betrothed to the Danish Prince Ioann, who died, however, on his arrival in Moscow. In spite of his wise rule, however, the Tsar's popularity was not permanent. He was everywhere surrounded by enemies, among whom were the Romanofs, the nephews of Anastasia Romanovna. Feodore Romanof was therefore compelled to become a monk under the name of Philarete, whilst the other members of the family were banished.

In his foreign wars Boris was not fortunate.

§ 4. ***The Pretenders.***—In the meantime rumours were

spread that Dimitry, the infant son of the Terrible, supposed to have died at Uglich, was alive and that he intended taking possession of the throne of his ancestors. The rumour was borne out by the sudden appearance of a man who claimed to be the lost Dimitry. The history of this Pretender is wrapt in mystery. He is supposed to have been a monk, of the name of Gregory Otrepief. Whether he was an instrument in the hands of the boyarins, or of the Jesuits, is a matter of conjecture. He first appeared in the service of the Prince Adam Vishnevecki in Lithuania, to whom he suddenly revealed his identity. Vishnevecki believed his story and so did the Voevoda of Sandomir, George Mnishek. The latter betrothed his daughter, Marina, to the Pretender. The Jesuits took a great interest in him, and in an interview with Sigismundus IV. of Poland, the latter acknowledged the Pretender as the rightful Tsar of Moscow and assigned him a large pension. At the head of a military force, consisting mostly of Poles, Lithuanians, and Cossacks, Demetrius crossed the Dnieper and entered Russia. One after another the towns in the Ukraine surrendered; only Novgorod Seversky, defended by Peter Basmanof, offered resistance. The Pretender had just suffered a defeat (1605), when the news suddenly came that Boris had died. The nation swore allegiance to young Feodore Godunof, and Basmanof was sent with an army against the Pretender. But the Russian general went over to Demetrius, and Feodore, the son of Boris Godunof, and his mother were strangled in Moscow.

§ 5. The road was now clear, and the Pretender entered the capital as the rightful Tsar. He had an interview with his supposed mother, who recognised him as her son. Demetrius was a man of high intelligence and of a generous disposition. He took an energetic part in Government affairs. A great admirer of Western civilisation, he showed a decided preference to foreigners, and also advised his boyarins to travel abroad. It may be observed here that the Slavs were not given to foreign travel. Even the merchants who left the

country were very few. Not only did religious scruples prevent the Russians from venturing into the lands of the heretics, but a natural lack of energy kept them at home. The Tsars of the House of Rurik, and later on the Romanofs, availed themselves of this natural disinclination and prohibited their subjects to leave the country, a prohibition which has remained in force up to the present day. Demetrius, however, encouraged his nobles to go abroad or at least to Poland. He was a man of liberal views, 'un prince qui aymoit l'honneur, et l'auoit en recommandation,' says an authority who knew him personally.[1] But probably because of this very liberality and of his familiar and kindly behaviour towards his boyarins he lost the respect and popularity of the people. He offended the old-established national customs, 'did not take his siesta after dinner, and omitted to enjoy the luxuries of the vapour bath.'

§ 6. It is interesting to quote here a passage from the above-mentioned authority with reference to the Pretender's contempt for the national habits and customs. 'De ce qu'on allè'gue quil se mocquoit des façons de faire des Russes, et qu'il n'observait leur religion que par forme, il ne s'en faut esmerueiller. Principallement si l'on considere leurs moeurs et manières et vivre, car ils sont rudes et grossiers, sans aucune civilité, et est une nation faulse, sans foy, sans loy, sans conscience, sodomites, et entachez d'infinis autres vices et brutalitez. Veu que Boris Federnik duquel nul ne donbtera, naissoit non taut eut que leur vices, et y a apporté ce taut peu de reformation qu'il y a. Comment donc Demetrius, lequel seauoit en partie que c'est que du monde, nourry quelque espace de temps en Pologne, qui, est vu pa'is libre, et entre les grands, pouvoit-il faire moins que de desirer quelque reformation et civilité parmy ses subjects.'[2]

It is also worthy of note that the Terrible himself had a deep contempt for the Russians and for their national character, and once expressed himself to this effect to an English Ambassador; when the latter ventured to observe that the Tsar too was a Russian, Ivan proudly replied that he was

[1] Jean Margaret, *Estat de l'Empire de Russie.* [2] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

of Norman descent.[1] What caused the ruin of the Pretender was his kindness, and the great discontent at the Polish influence that was threatening Russia, and the preponderance of Polish civilisation that seemed speedily to be gaining sway in Moscow. Shuisky, who had dared to declare Demetrius an impostor and had been condemned to death, was pardoned, and the people shook their heads at this sign of mercy and began to doubt whether the Tsar really was a descendant of the Terrible. On May the 12th Marina Mnishek made her entry into Moscow, accompanied by a brilliant retinue of Polish Pans. The Poles gained great influence at Court, and the boyarins were exasperated. A conspiracy was formed, at the head of which was Vasily Shuisky, whose life had been spared by the Pretender. Demetrius, surprised at night in his private apartment, sprang through the window, but fell and was stabbed by the conspirators. His friend Basmanof was also assassinated. The corpse of Demetrius was burnt and the ashes scattered in all directions. The Tsaritza Marina was put into prison and many Poles were massacred by the infuriated mob.

§ 7. ***Shuisky Tsar.***—Shuisky was now proclaimed Tsar; but his influence was on the wane. He made a solemn promise to reign only in conjunction with the boyarins, but this concession diminished his popularity. In the meantime rumours were spread that Demetrius had escaped and was not dead. In Starodoub a new Pretender made his appearance, and claimed to be Demetrius. The Polish and Lithuanian Pans were ready to help him, and at the head of an army he advanced towards Moscow, and fixed his camp in Toushino at a distance of twelve versts from the capital. Marina Mnishek, who had managed to escape from prison, fled to the camp of the new Pretender and acknowledged the 'Robber of Toushino,' as he has been surnamed, as her rightful husband. Shuisky in this crisis addressed himself to Charles IX., King of Sweden, for help, and the latter sent 5000 men to his assistance. Shuisky's army, however,

[1] Fletcher, *On the Russe Commonwealth*, p. 16.

was beaten at Kloushino, and the Moscovites, infuriated at this defeat, dethroned the Tsar, and compelled him to become a monk (1610).

§ 8. ***The Period of Troubles.***—A period of troubles now ensued, of which the Poles took advantage, and Ladislaus, son of Sigismundus, was elected Tsar. But the clergy, and especially the Patriarch Hermogenes, incited the people to the defence of Orthodoxy against Latinism. A butcher of Moscow, named Minin, and the Prince Pozharsky, distinguished themselves at this period, and saved Russia from becoming a Polish province. The Poles were defeated and driven back. The Zemsky Sobor then assembled in February, 1613, to elect a new Tsar. The choice fell upon Michael Feodorovich Romanof, the son of Philarete, a boy of sixteen. The Romanofs were related to Ivan the Terrible, and theirs was a name to conjure with at that time. The Poles, tradition relates, endeavoured to kill him, but a Russian peasant, named Sousanin, who was their guide, misled them, paying with his own life for his devotion.

CHAPTER IX

THE ROMANOFS

§ 1. ***Michael Romanof.***—With Michael the famous dynasty of the Romanofs ascended the Russian throne. Michael first refused to accept the crown of Monomachus, but yielded at last, and was crowned on February 21st, 1613. Russia was jubilant in the hope that the period of trouble would now come to an end. The country, however, was far from a state of internal peace. Michael found the Empire on the brink of ruin and in a state of exhaustion. Bands of Cossacks under their hetmans marauded everywhere and devastated the country. They were, however, soon vanquished and scattered, and the most redoubtable of

their leaders, Zarutsky, who had supported the second false Demetrius, and to whom Marina had fled with her infant son after the death of the Robber of Toushino (he was murdered in Kaluga in 1610), was taken prisoner, together with Marina. Zarutsky was put to death, Marina imprisoned, and her infant child hanged. In the meantime the war with Sweden and with Poland continued. Sweden endeavoured to annex the north of Russia, but Gustavus Adolphus was compelled to give up the siege of Pskof, and a treaty was at last concluded at Stolbovo (1617), by which the Swedes abandoned Novgorod, which was in the possession of Russia, but obtained Ingermanland and 20,000 roubles by way of indemnity. The Russians were thus excluded from the Baltic Sea, and Gustavus Adolphus is supposed to have exclaimed triumphantly in the Swedish Diet: 'Russia is now shut out from the Baltic, and I hope to God that she will not find it easy in future to jump over this river.' At peace with Sweden, Russia now concentrated her forces in the war against Poland. The Poles had advanced as far as Moscow, and the Tsar was compelled to conclude a truce for fourteen years. This was the truce of Deulino, by which Smolensk, Tshernigof, and other districts remained in the possession of Poland. Among the prisoners who, in consequence of the treaty of Deulino, returned to Russia, was the Tsar's father, Philarete.

§ 2. ***The Patriarch Philarete.***—Philarete, an educated, intelligent man, who had studied Latin with the Englishman Horsey, and had a great esteem for European education, was elected Patriarch, and henceforth assisted his son in the government of the country. The Patriarch endeavoured to re-establish order in administrative and economic spheres, and to renew the relations with Western Europe, which had been interrupted. England had helped Russia in her wars, and James I. had given Michael pecuniary assistance. During the reign of Michael ambassadorial relationship was established with France. Among the Western European scholars who were invited to Russia was the

famous Adam Olearius, who has left a description of Moscow and the Moscovites of that period, not altogether flattering to the national pride of the Slav. A few extracts will suffice.

§ 3. ***Olearius's Description of Moscow.***—Olearius left an interesting description of Moscow[1] and of the manners of the inhabitants at that period, 1634-36. 'They are for the most part corpulent, fat and strong, and of the same colour as other Europeans. They much esteem great beards (when the moustaches hide the mouth), as also great bellies, so that those who are well furnished about the mouth, and have good fat paunches, are very considerable among them. The Goses, or great Duke's merchants, whom we found in the antechamber, when we were brought to our public audience, had been chosen particularly for those two perfections, for the greater honour of their prince.

'The women are well-proportion'd, neither too big nor too little, having passably good faces, but they paint so palpably, that if they laid it on with a brush, and had a handful of meal cast in their faces when they had done, they could not disfigure themselves as much as the paint does. But the custom is so general, that the most handsome must comply, lest they should discredit the artificial beauty of others.

'If a man consider the natures and manner of life of the Moscovites, he will be forced to avow, there cannot be anything more barbarous than these people. Their boast is that they are descended from the ancient Greeks, but, to do them no injustice, there is no more comparison between the brutality of these barbarians and the civility of the Greeks, to whom all other parts of the world are indebted for their literature and civilisation, than there is between day and night. They never learn any art or science, nor apply themselves to any kind of study: on the contrary, they are so ignorant as to think that a man cannot make an almanack unless he be a sorcerer, nor foretell the revolutions of the moon and eclipses unless he have some communication with devils.

[1] Lib. ii., p. 43.

'Tis true the Muscovites do not lack ingenuity, but they employ their wit so ill, that not any of their actions is directed to virtue and the glory that attends it. The Danish gentleman, who publish'd the embassy he was sent upon into Muscovy from Frederick II., gives the Muscovites a very true character in two lines, when he says—that they are subtle, over-reaching, humorous, self-willed, obstinate, insolent and impudent; that they regulate their reason according to their power, and that they have shaken hands with all virtues, to run themselves into all manner of vice.'

§ 4. ***Wars with Poland.***—The hostility between Russia and Poland had meanwhile not subsided, in spite of the armistice of Deulino. Sigismundus IV. died in 1632, and Michael availed himself of the opportunity to send an army to besiege Smolensk. But the plan failed. Ladislaus forced the Russian army to capitulate. The commander, Schein, had to pay for this with his head, and Ladislaus advanced towards Moscow. Michael was compelled to sue for peace, and a new treaty was concluded at Polyanovka (1634) on the basis of that of Deulino. Smolensk remained in possession of Poland, and Ladislaus abandoned his claims to the Russian throne.

§ 5. ***The Capture of Azof.***—Towards the end of Michael's reign, the Cossacks of the Don captured the fortress of Azof, and offered it as a gift to the Tsar. The possession of Azof would have enabled Moscow better to keep back the Tartars, but Michael was tired of war. His father, 'the Russian Richelieu,' had died in the meantime, and, taking the advice of the General States (or the Council), a commission of inquiry was appointed to examine the place. The report explained that it was in a dilapidated condition, and that it would be too difficult to hold. Michael consequently ordered the Cossacks to evacuate it, and leave it to the Turks. His first wife, Maria Dolgoroukaya, being childless, Michael divorced her, and married Eudokia Stryeshneva, who bore him a son, Alexis. His father's endeavour to obtain for Michael the hand of a Danish prin-

cess met with no success. Michael, the first ruler of the house of Romanof, died in 1645, and was succeeded by his only son, Alexis.

§ 6. ***Alexis.***—The reign of Alexis has been considered by some historians as an age of genius. His was the period of Louis XIV., of Christina of Sweden, just as that of Ivan Vasilivich was an age of tyrants. Alexis has also been considered as the forerunner of his son Peter. It is, however, worthy of note that Peter considered that he continued the work of the Terrible and not that of Alexis. Like his father, Alexis Mikhailovich was of a weak, although mild disposition. He had not, however, the good fortune to have a Philarete to advise and support him. His tutor, the boyarin Morozof, availing himself of the entire confidence of his royal pupil, gained a preponderating influence in the government of the country. Alexis, through the influence of his tutor, married Maria Miloslavskaya, the daughter of a poor boyarin, and Morozof soon afterwards married her sister. Morozof became chief Regent, but a riot broke out in Moscow in consequence of his mismanagement, and he was compelled to retire from office. 'The reign of Alexis Mikhailovich,' says Rambaud, 'may be summed up in three facts: the reaction against Poland and the union with Little Russia; the struggle between the Empire and the Cossacks; the first attempt at religious reform, and the growth of European influence.' We shall briefly summarise these events, which practically prepared the way for the reforms of Alexis's son, Peter the Great.

§ 7. ***Bogdan Khmelnitzky and Little Russia.***—It has been mentioned above that the Cossacks were divided into those of the Don and of the Dnieper. The latter were also known under the name of Zaporoshsky or 'beyond the cataracts.' On the islands of the Dnieper they had established a military republic known as the Sech, and were governed by a hetman, or attaman, whose election had to be confirmed by the King of Poland. The insignia of the hetman was a *bulava* or mace, and a *bundshuk*, or standard, of

horses' tails. The Cossacks, who were under the rule of Poland, had been oppressed and maltreated by the Polish Pans. During the reign of Alexis, Bogdan, who had been personally insulted by a Polish Pan but could find no redress in Warsaw, was elected hetman of the Zaporogues Cossacks. Uniting their forces with those of the Crimean Tartars, the Cossacks began a holy war—which, like all holy wars, was especially distinguished for violence and atrocity—against the Polish Pans, the Jesuits, and the Jews. Jan Casimir, who had meanwhile ascended the Polish throne, opened negotiations with Bogdan. His conditions, which included the expulsion of the Jesuits and the Jews from the country, were, however, refused, and the war continued. Jan Casimir led his armies to battle. At Zborova, in Galicia, he was surrounded by the Cossacks and the Tartars. The latter, however, deserted their ally the hetman, and a truce was at last concluded. It did not last long. It was soon broken by the Cossack chief, and the war with the Poles was renewed. Bogdan was defeated at Berestetshko, and concluded another peace at Byelotserkof, with the evident intention of breaking it as soon as he could. Despairing of the possibility of continuing the struggle, and of bringing it to a successful issue, the hetman entered into negotiations with Moscow, asking the Tsar to take Little Russia under his protection. After some considerations the offer was accepted, and the Cossack regiments took the oath of allegiance to the new ruler at Pereyaslavl in the presence of Buturlin, the Tsar's envoy (1653). All the conditions of the hetman were granted, and he was accorded the right to receive foreign ambassadors, except those of Turkey and Poland. This step was followed by a war with Poland. The Tsar himself led the Russian army and took Smolensk. The Russians also invaded Lithuania and took Vilna, Kovno, and Grodno. The war terminated in the peace of Androuszovo, by which the Russians renounced Lithuania, but remained in possession of Smolensk, Kief, and all Little Russia on the left bank of the Dnieper (1667).

§ 8. ***Stenko Razin.***—From the reign of Michael Feo-

dorovich the Don Cossacks had finally recognised the sway of Moscow, and promised to abandon their brigandage, but they rarely kept a promise. During the reign of Alexis they rebelled under Stenko Razin, the robber who has become famous in Russian history, and is a central figure in Russian folklore. The revolt spread very rapidly. We shall quote an authority on this subject, the Dutch traveller, John Struys:—

'In the year 1667 he began to commit many insolencies, and himself and all his crew betaking themselves to the Wolga, where they took all the small shipping they met with and plundered them, killed and threw overboard all the men, unless they would admit themselves into their companie. They entered also all the towns seated near the river, where they pillaged the churches and monasteries. He spared neither man, woman nor child.'

Struys met with the famous brigand, and gives an interesting description of the interview :—

'When we came to his tent and desired admittance, he sent to know who we were; answer was returned him that we were Dutch, and imployed in the service of the Czaar upon a ship in the Caspian Sea. He forthwith gave order to a gentleman to conduct us into his tent, where himself and some of his council sat, and caused us to sit down, took our present in good part (two bottles of brandy) and drank the Emperour's health. Another time we went through the camp where we saw him going aboard a yacht to divertise himself upon the water with some of his officers. He had with him a Persian princess whom he had taken, together with her brother. The brother he presented to the Waywod of Astrachan, but the sister he kept for his concubine. Being now in the height of his cup, and full of frolicks, bragged of the many presents he had given and received since his being restored to the Emperour's favour, and on a sudden brake out into those extravagant terms, speaking to the Wolga: "Well," said he, "thou art a noble river, and out of thee have I had so much gold, silver and many things of value. Thou art the sole father and mother of my fortune

and advancement, but, unthankful man that I am? I have never offered thee anything; well, now, I am resolved to manifest my gratitude." With those words he took her into his arms and threw her into the Wolga, with all her rich habit and ornaments; her attire was of rich cloth of gold, richly set out with pearls, diamonds and other precious stones. The Lady was of an angelical countenance and amiable, of a stately carriage of body, and withall excellently well qualified as to her parts, being of a singular wit, and always pleasing in her demeanour towards him when he was in the heat of fury, and yet at last became the instance of his cruelty.'

It is a significant fact that Stenko Razin spread the rumour that he had in his camp the Prince Alexis, who had died a short time before, as well as the Patriarch Nikon who had been deprived of his office. Stenko Razin was at last taken prisoner, brought to Moscow, and executed (1671).

§ 9. ***The Patriarch Nikon—The Revision of the Bible and the Raskol.***—During the reign of Alexis, the Patriarch Nikon, a man of energy and erudition, noticed that a great many mistakes of copyists had slipped into the books of the Church; he therefore ordered a complete revision. The Church books were corrected after the best Greek manuscripts, printed, and distributed everywhere to replace the faulty volumes. This measure, however, led to schism; many of the clergy were attached to their old books and would not hear of the innovation. This schism is known as the Raskol, and its adherents as the Raskolniks. It was practically a conservative movement. The Raskolniks were to undergo many persecutions in the future. Nikon himself fell into disgrace soon afterwards and had to retire to a monastery. Among other reforms must be mentioned the compilation of the book of Ordinances, or Ulozhenye, a compilation of laws.

§ 10. ***Feodore.***—Alexis was married twice. By his first wife, Maria Myloslavskaya, he had two sons, Feodore and Ivan, and one daughter, Sophia. His second wife, Natalia Narishkina, bore him a son called Peter. Alexis died in 1676, and was succeeded by his eldest son Feodore, whose

reign was uneventful. It was during his reign that the question of precedence, or *myestnitshestvo*, a regulation by which no noble could occupy an office inferior to that of his ancestors, was settled. The Book of Ranks, or ordinances, was ordered to be brought before the Tsar, and was burnt; and whoever dared in future to dispute was to be deprived of his nobility. Feodore died in 1682.

§ 11. ***Description of the Russian People and Court by Contemporary Writers.***—'The Moscovites (as appears particularly by their commerce) are a people of great wit, cunning and dexterity. They are of a temper very remarkable in this, that they are so accustomed to the extremities of heat and cold that the sudden and most violent alteration that can be makes no ill impression on their health. . . . In short, they are so hardened and accustomed to both heat and cold, that their custome seems to be turned into nature. Besides, they being used to very hard fare, and brought up as they are in servitude and slavery, they must unquestionably be very proper for the wars. And indeed, having little comfort or pleasure in their lives, they want rather conduct than courage to fight. Nevertheless idleness, which in other places is reckoned as the root of all vices, seems to be peculiar to this nation, so lazy are they naturally, and of such antipathy to all kind of labour. It must be either force or necessity that compels them thereunto, they often preferring a bastinado or whipping before an honest but painful employment. From hence it is that drunkenness amongst them is so familiar, that there are but few persons exempt from it. The clergy are addicted to it as well as the laity, the women as the men, the young as the old, all striving as it were with a brutish emulation to outdrink one another.'[1]

'Tobacco was formerly also taken with no less extravagancy than their strong water now, but in the year 1634 the Czar and Patriarch thought good, with great rigour, to prohibit it, many of them having before that time set their houses

[1] *The Relation of Three Embassies*, Guy Miège. London, 1689, pp. 44, 45.

on fire by their negligence when they were drunk with tobacco. The poore people, instead of buying themselves bread, consumed all their money in tobacco.'[1]

'The Czar, like a sparkling sun (to speak in the Russian dialect), darted forth most sumptuous rays, being most magnificently placed upon his throne with his scepter in his hand, and having his crown on his head. His throne was of massy silver gilt, wrought curiously on the top with several works and pyramids; and being seven or eight steps higher than the floor, it rendered the person of this Prince transcendently majestick. His crown (which he wore upon a cap lined with black sables) was covered quite over with precious stones; it terminated towards the top in the form of a pyramid, with a golden cross at the spire. The scepter glistered also all over with jewels; his vest was sett with the like from the top to the bottom down the opening before, and his collar was answerable to the same. By his side he had four of the tallest of his lords standing below his throne, each of them with his battle-ax upon his shoulder, and with a profound gravity casting their eys now and then upon the Tzar, as inviting us to an admiration of his grandeur. Their habits were no less remarquable than their countenances, being all four of them from the top of their head to the sole of their foot clothed in white vests of ermine, and having great chains of gold, and their caps of that large sort which they use in their ceremonies; but whereas others were of black fox, these were of ermin as well as their vests, their very boots also were covered with the same. But that which was farther admirable was the glorious equippage of the Boyars present at this audience, who were as so many beams of the sun elevated in his triumphal carr, and seemed to have no lustre but to do homage withal to their great Monarch. They were about two hundred, cloathed all with vests of cloth of gold, cloth of silver or velvet, set with jewels, all placed in order upon benches covered with tapistry round about by the wall; the floor being raised there three or

[1] *The Relation of Three Embassies*, Guy Miège. London, 1689, p. 46.

four steps higher, and about the bredth of a good walke.'[1]

It is interesting to contrast with this exhibition of dazzling grandeur the state of misery and poverty of the people described by the same author.

'Moscovie is indeed a very fertile and plentiful country, yet the inhabitants, brought up from their cradles in great hardship and austerity, understand not how to improve the advantages it yields. And being born as it were to slaverie, they easily endure those incommodities which, without long accustomation, would have been intolerable; so that what Agesilaus said of the people of Asia may be very well applyed to them, viz., that they are very good slaves, but would make the worst free-men in the world. For their oeconomie and the affairs of their houses, it is certain they are very ill furnisht, that they live very poorely, and that they know no superfluity but of drink.' Their fare, he continues, is of the poorest—fresh fish and salt sometimes; 'but they never forget their onyons and garlick, which are their principal haut-gout'; 'their butter and cheese is so bad that it is a hard thing for strangers to make use of them.'

'After dinner the Russes have a custome of shutting up their shops and going to sleep; nevertheless they use beds so little that none but some persons of quality do lye upon beds or quilts.' The only quality Miège found among the Moscovites was the seclusion in which they kept their women. Their discipline appeared, however, to the Western European savouring of too much severity.

'For they make use of them only as a necessarie evil; they look upon them supercilliously, and with frownes; they beat them often, and handle them as if they were their slaves, and not part of themselves.'[2]

§ 12. ***The Reign of Sophia.***—On the death of Feodore Alexeevich, the question as to his successor occupied

[1] *The Relation of Three Embassies*, Guy Miège. London, 1689, pp. 148, 149.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 52.

the Court. Two parties were endeavouring to make their influence felt. Ivan Alexeevich was the rightful heir to the throne, and his mother's family, the Miloslavskys, claimed the crown for him. He was, however, weak 'in body and soul,' and Peter, the son of Natalia Naryshkina, the second wife of Alexis, was proclaimed Tsar by the Patriarch Joakim and the boyarins. The Naryshkins triumphed. During the minority of Peter, his mother Natalia was appointed Regent. Her triumph, however, was of short duration. A dangerous rival arose in the person of Sophia, the daughter of Alexis by his first wife. Opinions differ as to her personal appearance. Oustryalof maintains that she was unattractive, and at twenty-five had the appearance of a middle-aged woman. A French contemporary writer said: 'La Princesse Sophie dont l'esprit et le mérite ne tiennent rien à la difformité de son corps, étant d'une grosseur monstrueuse, avec une tête large comme un boisseau, du poil au visage, des loups aux jambes et au moins 40 ans.' Polevoi, however, calls her good-looking, following the testimony of Captain Perry. Whatever her personal appearance may have been, all admit that she was an extremely clever and well-read woman, and that she wrote verses herself. During the lifetime of her father she had freed herself from the seclusion of the *terem*, and had acquired considerable influence in Government matters. The oppressive atmosphere of the *terem* did not suit this ambitious woman, dreaming of power and influence. The heroine of her imagination was the Byzantine Princess Pulcheria, to whom her admirers had likened her. Sophia decided to be a Russian Pulcheria, to take the power from the hands of her brother and her stepmother, and reign in their stead. For this purpose she availed herself of the discontent which arose in the Streltsi-regiments. A rumour was spread that the Naryshkins had done away with the rightful Tsar Ivan, and a revolt broke out on the 15th of May 1682. It lasted three days, and many boyarins and members of the Naryshkin family, among them Ivan, the brother of Natalia, were killed. In the end both princes,

Ivan and Peter, were proclaimed joint Tsars, and Sophia was appointed Regent. This was a new situation in Russia. Never before, with the exception of Olga, who was the wife of a prince, had the supreme power been in the hands of a princess, who withal was unmarried. Sophia was not content with the title only. She took part in the Government affairs, and ruled the country. Her courtiers likened her not only to Pulcheria, but also to Semiramis and Queen Elizabeth. Three favourites, Khovansky, the new chief of the Streltsi, Miloslavsky, and Golitzin, shared her power. The latter gained a great influence over her. He was a man of rare education, a warm admirer of Western culture, and a patron of all learning. 'He astonished the foreign ambassadors by his knowledge, his cleverness, his fine manners and his fluent Latin.'

A new revolt of the Streltsi broke out, but it was quelled, and cost Khovansky his life. The most important event during Sophia's reign was the conclusion of a treaty with Poland (1686), which ratified the peace of Androuszovo. Russia remained in possession of Kief. Sophia then joined the Alliance of Austria, Venice, and Poland against the Turks. The Russians were to attack the Crimean Khan. Golitzin, in command of the Russian troops, undertook two campaigns in 1687 and 1689, but they ended in complete failure.

§ 13. ***Peter's Education.***—In the meantime Peter was being educated, or rather the young prince educated himself, in Preobrashenskoe, on the river Jausa, where he lived with his mother. He was very fond of learning, but he had to find his own masters. For the most part he chose foreigners. They taught him mechanics, and directed his military and naval exercises. Among them were Franz Timmermann, who taught him the use of the astrolab and the elements of geometry, and Karsten Brant. Peter surrounded himself with young men, whom he exercised in military drill, with the aid of foreign officers, and formed the regiment known as the *Poteshnye*, which exercised in Preobrashenskoe and Ssemenovskoe. These military companies are supposed to

have formed the nucleus of the regiments of guards, the Preobrashenskoe and Ssemenovskoe. With Karsten Brant he undertook trips on the water. He was evidently forming plans for the establishment of a fleet. Peter was married in 1689, before the age of seventeen, to Eudokia Lopoukhina, for whom, however, he felt no love.

CHAPTER X

PETER THE GREAT

§ 1. ***Sophia sent to a Convent.***—It was with displeasure that Sophia watched Peter's progress towards the age when he would take over the government. She began to sign herself Tsaritza of all the Russias, and again decided to rouse the Streltsi, commanded by her favourite Shaklovity. She even planned the assassination of Peter. The latter fled to the monastery of the Troitza, where he was followed by his wife and mother. Peter then sent an order to the Streltsi, commanding them to join him in Troitza, but Sophia forbade them to march. Patrick Gordon, who had arrived in Russia in 1661, and was then a general, came to his aid, and many other officers followed his example. Peter entered Moscow in triumph, Shaklovity was tortured and beheaded, Golitzin banished to Poustozersk with his son, and Sophia sent to the Novodyevitshy Monastyr, where she died after fifteen years' seclusion. Peter was now sole ruler, although Ivan's name continued to figure on all ukases until he died in 1696.

§ 2. ***The Campaign of Azof and Travels Abroad.*** —The Tsar surrounded himself with friends of his own choice, among whom Patrick Gordon and the Swiss Lefort[1] enjoyed his special confidence at this time. The Tsar was wont to indulge in all-night carousals. Peter's participation in Government matters was not marked by any keenness of interest at first, he confined himself to the preparation of means for a

[1] Lefort came to Russia in 1675.

successful foreign policy. His chief aims were the formation of an army and a fleet.[1] But the Tsar's attention was soon directed to the South, to the Black and Azof Seas, where the war with the Turks had not yet come to an end. Ship-builders were brought from Holland, and the Tsar himself assisted them in the construction of vessels. The Russian ruler conceived so marked an admiration for the Netherlands that he adopted the Dutch colours (in different order), and white-blue-red are still the colours displayed on Russian commercial flags, whilst the national flag consists of black-orange-white. It was not until 1695 that Peter marched against the Turks and laid siege to Azof. His first campaign was a failure, but the fortress was nevertheless taken the following year, and the Tsar marched triumphantly into Moscow. In the year following Peter left Russia on his travels. He had long wished to see Europe for himself so as to become acquainted with western customs, manners, civilisation and culture, and he carried out his plan in spite of the discontent of the reactionary party. Lefort was at the head of the expedition which the Tsar accompanied in the capacity of a private nobleman. 'He resolved to travel incognito, that he might be freed from all ceremony, and have a better opportunity of making his observations with freedom. He took with him Lefort, who was then made lieutenant-general of his army, and admiral of his fleet; his present favourite, Menzicoff, who had then no character, together with Count Gollovin, the late great Chancellor of Russia, and another great lord; which two last persons, together with the above-mentioned Lefort, were appointed to take upon them the character of his ambassadors extraordinary, and acted as his publick minister in Holland and in England.'[2] Having entrusted the government to a council of boyarins, Peter left Russia in March. He first went to Riga, where he was refused permission to visit the fortifications. At Koenigsberg he was well received, and in Hanover he met Sophie Char-

[1] Brueckner, *Peter der Grosse*, p. 115.

[2] Captain Perry, *The State of Russia*. London, 1716, pp. 155, 156.

lotte, the future Queen of Prussia, who has left an interesting description of the Tsar in her memoirs.

§ 3. 'His Majesty,' says Perry, 'travelled sometimes in the same cloaths with his own people, and sometimes in that of a gentleman; but most commonly when he came to any seaport he went about in a Dutch skipper's habit, that he might go among the shipping and be the less taken notice of.'[1] Peter did not stay long in any of the seaports, he was too anxious to see Holland. There, in order to learn the art of shipbuilding, he worked in the dockyards as a common workman, under the name of Peter Mikhailoff, first in Saardem and then in Amsterdam. He not only learned shipbuilding but became efficient in many handicrafts, and obtained a certificate from Gerrit Klaas Pool, the ship constructor for the Dutch East India Company. He also visited many factories and laboratories, and took the keenest interest in everything relating to commerce and industry. Afterwards he visited England. 'He spent some few days in the City of London,' says Perry, 'and had several interviews with the King, Her Royal Highness the then Princess Anne of Denmark, and many of the English nobility; but was more particularly and above all, taken with the conversation of the then Marquis of Carmarthen, who complied with him in his humour, and assisted him in his pursuit after the knowledge of shipping, and would row and sail with him upon the water, which was his delight; of which obligations, and kindness of my Lord Marquis to him, I have many times since heard him speak with great affection; as indeed he often does of England in general, and what he observed here. And I have often heard him say, that he designs to take a turn hither again, when he has peace settled in his own country: And has often declared to his lords, when he has been a little merry, that he thinks it a much happier life to be an Admiral in England, than Czar in Russia.'[2] During his stay in England Peter lived at Deptford, where Mr Evelyn's house had been taken for him. A door at

[1] Captain Perry, *The State of Russia*. London, 1716, p 159.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 163, 164.

the back opened into the King's yard, where Peter studied English methods of shipbuilding. Peter stayed in England for three months, and on his departure King William gave him leave to take such of his subjects into his service as he should have occasion for. During his stay in England the Tsar visited Oxford to see the University, and called on the Archbishop. 'He was likewise shewn both Houses of Parliament when they were sitting, and was prevailed upon to go once or twice to the Play, but that was what he did not like.'[1] When Peter left England he engaged a few Englishmen, among them Captain Perry. He passed through Holland, had an interview with the Emperor in Vienna, and was about to proceed to Venice when news from Moscow reached him. The Streltsi had again revolted. Peter travelled at once to Moscow. The ringleaders were hanged and many others sent to Siberia. The Streltsi were entirely suppressed a few years afterwards.

§ 4. ***The Revolt of the Cossacks and the War with Sweden.***—It was imperative that Russia should gain a sea-coast in the West, a port on the Baltic, and 'open a window upon Europe.' For this purpose Peter waged a long war against Sweden which lasted over twenty years. A secret alliance was concluded between Peter and the Danish and Polish kings, by which the Polish king, Augustus, was to invade Livonia whilst the Russians were to seize Ingria and Carelia. The alliance was due to the indefatigable labours of Patkul, a Livonian nobleman discontented with the Swedish Government. The war began in 1700, but the young Swedish king, Charles XII., who only relied upon 'God, his sword and the love of his people' as his sole allies, defeated the Danes, who were compelled to ask for peace, and hastened into Livonia and thence against the Russians who were besieging Narva. The Russians were completely defeated. The Swedish king, great warrior as he was, did not take advantage of his victory.

'Il a été le premier,' says Voltaire in his history of this

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 165, 166.

Northern hero, who endeavoured to emulate Alexander and Cæsar, 'qui ait eu l'ambition d'être conquérant, sans avoir l'envie d'agrandir ses états; il voulait gagner des empires pour les donnes. Sa passion pour la gloire, pour la guerre et pour la vengeance, l'empêcha d'être bon politique, qualité sans laquelle ou n'a jamais vu de conquérant.' Peter made the most of Charles's lack of political insight and waste of time in Poland by reorganising his army and making good his losses. Sheremetef, Peter's general, defeated the Swedes under Shlippenbach, and took possession of the eastern part of Livonia, where the Russians committed many atrocities. The Tsar himself took Ingria and the Swedish fortress Noteburg on the Neva. Peter thus gained a firm footing on the Baltic, and the name of Noteburg was changed to Schlüsselberg.[1] On one of the islands where the Neva discharges itself into the Baltic he laid the foundations of a new town, St. Petersburg (1703). The Tsar himself superintended the works, living the while in a small house. The work began with a fortress, and a church in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul.

§ 5. In 1704 the Russian armies passed into Poland to assist their ally, but Augustus, defeated and pursued by the Swedish king, was compelled to sign the treaty of Altranstadt, by which he renounced the Polish crown in favour of Stanislaus Lesczinsky, and surrendered Patkul to Charles. The unfortunate Livonian was broken on the wheel. Charles now turned against his only enemy, the Russian Tsar. Peter at this moment desired peace, and was willing to negotiate, his terms being that the Swedes should grant him at least one port on the Baltic. Charles would hear of no concessions, stating that only in Moscow would he dictate conditions. In the meantime a revolution broke out in Astrakhan, and among the Don Cossacks under their leader Bulavin, but was soon quelled in both districts. Bulavin committed suicide by shooting himself.

§ 6. ***Mazeppa and the Battle of Poltava.***—In 1708 Charles invaded Russia by way of the Ukraine. He

[1] Peter named this town Schlüsselberg from the German word *Schlüssel*, or key, this fortress being a key opening the Baltic to Russia.

was to be joined by his general, Loewenhaupt, marching with another army from Livonia. Loewenhaupt, however, was defeated at Lesna by the Tsar. The latter soon afterwards received the news of the treason of Mazeppa, the hetman of the Zaporozhy Cossacks. Little Russia, the reader will remember, was now under the rule of Moscow. Mazeppa, anxious to shake off the yoke of Moscow, entered into negotiations with Stanislaus Lesczinsky. The General-Judge Kotshoubey, with whose daughter the hetman stood in romantic relations, denounced Mazeppa, but Peter was convinced of the latter's fidelity, and punished his traducers. Charles nevertheless, when he entered the Ukraine, was joined by Mazeppa. Little Russia, however, did not rise. Menshikof stormed and sacked Baturin, Mazeppa's capital, a new hetman was appointed, and Mazeppa excommunicated. Charles, in spite of the wretched state of his army, and notwithstanding the failure of his hopes, marched on and met the Russians, led by the Tsar, under the walls of Poltava, where he suffered a complete defeat. The Swedes were routed, about 10,000 men were killed and 3000 made prisoners. Charles, who had been wounded in the leg, could not personally direct the military operations. He succeeded in escaping, however, with Mazeppa and a few hundred soldiers, into Turkey. The battle of Poltava marks a turning-point in the history of Peter and of Russia. Charles fell from his pedestal, and Sweden lost her prestige, while Russia suddenly became a mighty power in Europe. Peter's ambitions were now fulfilled. Russia was firmly established on the Baltic, and Riga, Reval, and Vyborg passed into his possession. He could now gaze triumphantly from the window which he had opened upon Europe. Voltaire says: 'Ce qui est le plus important dans cette bataille, c'est que, de touts celle qui ont jamais ensanglanté la terre, c'est la seule qui, au lieu de ne produire que la destruction, ait servi au bonheur du genre humain, puis qu'elle a donné au Czar la liberté de policer une grande partie du monde.'[1]

§ 7. ***The Treaty of Nystadt.***—In any case, whatever

[1] Voltaire, *Histoire de Russie*, chap. xvii.

our opinion may be of its importance, the battle of Poltava gained for Peter considerable influence in Europe. Charles fled to Bender with Mazeppa. The latter expired a few months afterwards, but the Swedish king persuaded the Sultan to declare war against Russia. Peter was promised help by the Hospodars of Moldavia and Valachia, but he was only joined by Kantemir, the Hospodar of Moldavia. On the banks of the Pruth, Peter, surrounded by an immense Turkish army, found himself in a critical position. He opened negotiations with the Vizir and concluded a treaty, making considerable concessions to Turkey, (1711) and giving back Azof. The Northern War continued till 1718, when the death of Charles XII. at Frederickhall, in Norway, removed a formidable enemy from Peter's path. The Swedish Diet continued the war for some time, but it soon declared its willingness to treat for peace. Consequently, in 1721, the treaty of Nystadt was concluded, by which Sweden ceded to Russia the possession of Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, Carelia, and a part of Finland. In this year Peter adopted the title of Emperor of all the Russias. In the following year he was engaged in a war against the Shah of Persia, and by the treaty of 1723 gained several districts on the Caspian. In 1717 he had made another tour in Europe, visiting Paris, where he was received with great ceremony.

§ 8. ***Peter's Reforms.***—Peter's reforms are scattered over all the period of his reign, beginning immediately after his first return from abroad. He first made acquaintance with Western customs and institutions in the German colony in Moscow. He then travelled westward, and immediately on his return directed his attention to the dress and outward appearance of his subjects. The Asiatic garments, the long caftan, had to give way to German attire. Beards, which the Russians had hitherto considered as sacred, were to be shaved, although Patriarch Adrian declared that without a beard a man did not look human, but had the appearance of a cat or a dog, and only those who wished to be confounded with cats and dogs could think of shaving. A certain tax had to be paid for the

privilege of wearing one. Among Peter's social reforms the emancipation of women was one of the most important. Russian women had been kept secluded for centuries. Peter broke the doors of the *terem* and instituted his *assemblies*, where the sexes met, danced, and conversed. He introduced the women into the life of the salon, and to the manners of Western Europe, which the many foreigners whom he had invited taught to his barbaric subjects. Peter also established a new conception of nobility, based upon the service of the Tsar. A gentleman or a noble was one who entered the Tsar's service, no matter whether of Russian or of foreign birth. The hereditary nobility had thus to give way to the officers of State, who were divided into fourteen grades or *tshiny* (hence the Russian word tshinovnik). Peter also introduced the custom of primogeniture or *majorate*, by which the property passes to the heir, with the title. He divided the manufacturers and merchants into guilds, the first and second of which enjoyed many privileges. The peasants, or the rural populaion, formerly divided into *odnodvortsy* (or free peasants), *polovniky* or matayers (who had retained their personal liberty), and peasants attached to the soil, were all confounded in one class, and equally subjected to a fixed residence. Among Peter's administrative reforms was the institution of the Senate in place of the ancient *Douma* of the boyarins. The plan of an elaboration of a new code which the Senate was enjoined (in 1718 and 1720) to prepare was not carried out. But Peter abolished the custom of the *pravesh* or flagellation of debtors. Torture, though still in use in criminal cases, was abolished in civil law. The police were reorganised and commanded by the *General-politzmeister* at St. Petersburg and the *Ober-politzmeister* at Moscow. His reforms were often opposed, and Peter instituted a State-inquisition. 'Slovo i dyelo' was the sentence by which an accusation was raised and denunciation made. To provide money for his army and navy the State revenues were increased. The poll-tax, the tax on the stamped paper (eagle paper), or *gerbovaya boumaga*, were introduced, and many other means of raising money were discovered.

§ 9. ***Holy Synod.***—Peter also encouraged commerce and industry, and negotiated treaties with European States. Among those who opposed Peter's reforms, the clergy, in particular, expressed dissatisfaction with the 'German Tsar.' Peter therefore abolished the Patriarchate. After the death of Adrian, in 1700, he appointed Iavorsky as the Superintendent of the Patriarchal throne. In 1721 he issued a Reglament, or Regulation, of the Church, in the drawing up of which he was assisted by Theophan Prokopovich. This edict abolished the Patriarchate and instituted the Holy Synod.

Always borrowing from the West, learning, and applying his acquired knowledge in Russia, Peter not only Europeanised his army and created a navy, but also founded schools and colleges, museums and libraries. The Bible was translated into Russian and sold at popular prices. Artists were invited from abroad, and Russians were sent to the West to study. In 1724 the Tsar established in St. Petersburg the Academy of Sciences, the first members of which were foreigners. The Slavonic alphabet was abandoned and replaced by the new Russian alphabet. The old Slavonic, however, remained in use in the Church. Printing was encouraged, and *The Gazette of St. Petersburg* (the first Russian newspaper) was established. The manner of calculating the year from the Creation was abolished, and the beginning of the year was counted from the 1st of January instead of from the 1st of September.

§ 10. ***Peter's Helpers.***—Peter had to rely upon foreigners to carry out most of his reforms, and he consequently encouraged them to come to Russia. By an edict issued in 1702 he guaranteed them the free exercise of their respective religions. His tolerance, however, did not extend to the Jesuits and the Jews. Most of his fellow-workers were of foreign extraction, and included Gordon, Lefort, Bruce, Ostermann, and Munich. The most notable of native helpers were Menshikof, whom the Tsar had raised from the lowest strata of society to the dignity of prince; Chafirof, a converted Jew; Prokopovich, Apraxin, Dolgorouky, Romodanovsky and Kourbatof. Peter's reforms, whilst

highly appreciated by some authors, are condemned by others.

§ 11. ***The Tsarevich Alexis.***—A few words concerning Peter's family life. It has been mentioned that he sent his wife, Eudokia Lopoukhina, to a monastery in Souzdal (1699). Afterwards he repudiated her, and in 1712 married Martha Skavronskaya, 'the girl of Marienburg,' who was taken prisoner in 1702, and whom Peter saw in the house of Menshikof. Unable to read or write, Martha (Catherine in the Greek Church) was, however, endowed with high intelligence and a sweet disposition. She gained an immense influence over the hot-tempered, self-willed autocrat. By his first wife Peter had a son, Alexis, who was to succeed him. But the heir-apparent evinced no sympathy with his father's innovations, and openly declared that he would go back to the old habits as soon as he succeeded to the throne. Peter remonstrated, threatened, and had recourse to violent measures, but all in vain. By his father's command Alexis married Sophia Charlotte, Princess of Brunswick and Wolfenbuettel; but although his wife was an amiable and attractive woman, he neglected her and brought about her early death. She left two children—Peter, afterwards Peter II., and Natalia. During Peter's absence abroad Alexis left Russia and fled with his mistress, Euphrosyna, to Germany, where the German Emperor, Charles VI., gave him refuge, first in Tyrol and afterwards in a castle near Naples (1717). Peter's emissary, Tolstoi, however, succeeded—on the promise of forgiveness—in bringing the rebellious son back to Russia. But as soon as he entered Russia he was arrested, tried by a special court, found guilty of treason and sentenced to death. Russian historians are inclined to think that he expired in prison before the sentence was executed. It is, however, more than probable that he was executed—knouted, beheaded or poisoned. Some contemporary writers are inclined to think that the latter mode of death was employed.[1] In

[1] Cf. *A Select Collection of Singular and Interesting Histories.* London, 1774.

1721 the Tsar issued a ukase by which the ruler could appoint his successor, but he himself died without doing so, on the 28th of January 1725, at the age of fifty-three.

CHAPTER XI

THE SUCCESSORS OF PETER THE GREAT

§ 1. ***Catherine I.***—Peter left an empire, a throne, an army and a navy, but no successor. For nearly a century Russia was destined to be ruled by women and governed by their favourites. Immediately after the death of the Tsar the Court divided into two parties. The enemies of reform rallied round Peter, son of the unhappy Alexis, and his grandmother, Eudokia. The favourites, who had risen to high honour and wealth, and those who had supported Peter in his reforms and brought about the condemnation of his son, had too much to lose to allow the son of Alexis and grandson of Eudokia to ascend the throne. It would have meant not only complete reactionary policy but also their own ruin. They therefore sided with Catherine, Peter's widow. Peter had solemnly crowned her Empress of Russia in 1723, and her partisans now claimed the imperial crown for her. With the aid of Menshikof, Prokopovich, the President of the Synod, and especially the guards whom she won to her favour, Catherine was proclaimed Empress of Russia. Thus the former Livonian peasant ascended the Russian throne, and with her begins the era of frequent palace revolutions, of autocracy, assassination, the procession of Court favourites and cunning adventurers.

§ 2. Catherine I. reigned only two years, 1725-1727. She was an illiterate woman, and it was her daughter Elizabeth who signed the State papers for her. Catherine, or Martha, had been a governess or a simple servant in the house of the Lutheran pastor Glück. At the siege

of Mariensburg, Glück, with his family, went over to the camp of the Russians, where he presented General Sheremetef, commander of the Russian forces, with a Bible in Slavonic. Sheremetef seems to have taken more interest in the charms of the servant Martha. The commander, however, had to cede his captive to Menshikof, in whose house she lived for some time, until Peter saw her, and was so enraptured with her beauty that Menshikof was compelled to hand her over to the Tsar. A woman of a more ambitious and independent character would probably have endeavoured to get rid of Menshikof as soon as she had risen to power. But whatever may be said of Catherine's mode of life, of the orgies, and of the favourites who shared her favours after the death of her husband,[1] it is generally admitted that she was amiable and kind-hearted. Her former master, Menshikof, was amply compensated for the grief he might have experienced in having to part with his servant. His ambition was satisfied. He received another fifty thousand peasants and the town of Baturin, the capital of Mazeppa. Menshikof, the former pastry cook, who once sold cakes in the streets of Moscow, continued the reforms begun by Peter. In 1726 the Academy of Science was inaugurated, and Behring, the Danish explorer, was sent on a scientific mission to Kamtshatka. The government was concentrated in the hands of the Upper Secret Council, which was composed of the former favourites of Peter, and presided over by the Empress. Catherine had two daughters—Elizabeth, who afterwards became Empress, and Anna, married to Karl Friedrich, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp. Anna died in 1728, leaving a son Peter, afterwards Peter III.

§ 3. ***Peter II.—Exile of Menshikof.***—Catherine appointed as her successor Peter, the son of Alexis, and nominated Menshikof as Regent during the Tsar's minority. She further ordered that the daughter of Menshikof, Princess Mary, should be betrothed to the sovereign. Menshikof had at that time reached the summit of his ambitions. He

[1] *Cf.* Waliszewsky, *L'héritage de Pierre le Grand*, p. 11-21.

took the young Tsar to his own palace, where he surrounded him with his devoted servants, thus keeping him at a distance from the influence of his grandmother. Menshikof had his name and the names of his family entered in the almanack among the Royal family, and also ordered that the name of his daughter Mary, the affianced bride of Peter, be inserted in the prayers offered in the churches for the Imperial family. Such behaviour on the part of the former pastry cook could only excite the malice and envy of his enemies. They availed themselves of the disinclination which the Tsar felt for his bride, and Ostermann and Ivan Dolgorouky, who had the Duchess Natalia, sister of Peter the Great, on their side, brought their influence to bear upon the young Tsar and induced him to transfer his residence to the Summer Palace. The Tsar even refused to see Menshikof when the latter solicited an audience, and a short time afterwards an order was issued by which Menshikof was arrested with his whole family, and exiled to his estate in Orenburg, in the province of Ryazan. The Regent left Moscow in solemn procession, accompanied by a retinue of servants and crowds of people. In Tver, however, another imperial order reached the exile. His property was confiscated, and he and his family were exiled to Berezof, in the north of Siberia, where he died in 1729. His wife died *en route* in Kazan, and his daughter Mary only outlived him by one year. Peter's next step was to transfer the government to Moscow, the seat of the reactionary party. He betrothed himself to Catherine, the sister of his favourite, Ivan Dolgorouky, and this family rose on the ruins of Menshikof. Fate, however, soon shattered their plans and ambitions. During the ceremony of 'the benediction of the waters,' the Tsar caught a cold, whilst not yet recovered from an attack of small-pox, and died in 1730. The reigns of these two sovereigns were almost uneventful. Russia's foreign policy was disturbed by no wars, although Catherine had nearly entered into a war with Denmark, espousing the case of her son-in-law, the Duke of Holstein, but the death of the Empress put a stop to it.

§ 4. ***Anna Ivanovna, 1730-1740.***—Of the male members of the Romanof family none remained. The dynasty was represented by women only. Peter left two daughters, Elizabeth and Anna. The latter was married to the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, and died in 1728, leaving a son Peter, who became Peter III. Ivan, the imbecile brother of Peter the Great, also left two daughters, Catherine Ivanovna, Duchess of Mecklenburg, and Anna Ivanovna, the dowager Duchess of Courland. The Secret High Council now attempted to limit the authority of the ruler, and to transfer some of the autocratic powers to a few families of the high Russian nobility. It was for this reason that the choice fell upon the one member of the reigning family, who had perhaps the least right to the throne, and was most likely to accept the crown under constitutional limitations. Negotiations were accordingly opened with Anna Ivanovna, who resided at Mittau, the capital of Courland, and the crown was offered to her on certain conditions. The Empress was to do nothing in affairs of government, and take no important steps without first consulting the Secret High Council. The Council was to consist of eight members, vacancies to be filled by co-option. Ostermann, who was a member of the Council, feigned illness, and was not present when the letter sent to Anna was drafted, and the Council consisted entirely of the members of two Russian families — the Dolgoroukys and Golitzins. Yagouzhinsky, afterwards Procurator of the Senate, tried to send a messenger to Anna and warn her against signing the conditions, but his plan failed. Anna signed the document. The clergy and the lesser nobility were, however, against such an oligarchic republic, and as soon as Anna arrived, deputations formally requested her to rule autocratically as her predecessors had done. The people would hear nothing of constitution. The result was that Anna tore up the *pacta conventa*, and was proclaimed *Tsaritz Autocratrix*. The instigators of the charter, the Dolgoroukys and Golitzins, paid heavily for their attempt to limit the autocratic power. They were exiled to their

estates, then to Siberia, and finally died in prison, while Ivan, the former favourite of Peter II., was broken on the wheel.

§ 5. ***Biron.***—The old Russian nobles were now compelled to give way to Germans, with whom Anna surrounded herself. With her arrived her lover, Ernst Johann Biron, a Courlander of low extraction, who governed Russia during her reign. His name was Biren, but he had altered it into Biron, pretending to be related to the French Duc de Biron. He was a man of low, vulgar habits, and little education; but sure of his influence over his Imperial mistress, he governed despotically over Russia, humiliated the nobility, and oppressed the people. The period of Biron's despotism is known under the name of *Bironovshtshina*. He was ambitious, avaricious, and cruel in his punishments. Thousands of the upper classes were arrested, tortured, exiled, or decapitated. The Dolgoroukys were among those so treated, while the Cabinet Minister Volynsky had his tongue torn out.

§ 6. The reign of Anna, surnamed the Cruel, was not very eventful. The seat of the Government was again transferred to St. Petersburg, the High Council was abolished, and the Government concentrated in the hands of a Cabinet, the members of which—mostly Germans—were called Cabinet Ministers. Anna abolished the entail, or primogeniture, instituted by Peter the Great. With regard to external affairs and foreign policy the following events may be noticed:—Russia returned the provinces which Peter had acquired from Persia, and took part in the War of Succession of Poland after the death of Augustus II., 1733. In the East, Russia, supported by her ally Austria, waged a four years' war against Turkey. But although the Russian commanders, Lascy, an Irishman, and Munich, a German, achieved splendid victories, taking Azof, Perekop, Otshakof and Khotin, the Russians, badly supported by their allies, hardly availed themselves of their triumphs. In the peace of Belgrade, 1739, Russia ceded to Turkey Servia and Wallachia, and contented herself with a strip of land between the Bug and the Dnieper, and the demolition of Azof.

§ 7. ***The Russian Court.***—During the reign of Anna, Russian literature began to flourish, and men like Lomonosof, the father of the Russian language, Kantemir, Russian ambassador at the French Court, and Trediakovsky made their appearance. The Court of St. Petersburg vied with that of Versailles in splendour and luxury. Biron loved only light colours, and consequently black coats were forbidden at Court. Old men, like Ostermann, appeared at Court dressed in suits of pale rose. But beneath this dazzling luxury and gorgeousness, the vulgarity, brutality, and low taste were the more noticeable. The Empress herself, who, unlike Catherine I., disdained the *prostaya* or brandy, preferring French wines and champagne, was a woman of a vulgar mind. Her chief enjoyment consisted in listening to tales of brigands, and in witnessing the buffoonery of her jesters. She forced some of the members of the highest Russian nobility to perform the office of jesters under humiliating circumstances.[1] In her private life Anna tried to keep up appearances, and disliked to see her courtiers drunk. But there were exceptions to the rule, and high officials were often intoxicated in Her Majesty's presence. The following passage from Manstein's *Memoirs* gives some idea of the manners of the Russian Court under Anna Ivanovna: 'Speaking of the Duke of Courland, I have already observed that he was a great lover of pomp and show: and this was enough to inspire the Empress with a desire to have her Court the most brilliant of all Europe. Considerable sums were sacrificed to this design, which was, after all, not so easily fulfilled. The richest coat would be sometimes worn together with the vilest dressed wig; or you might see a beautiful piece of material spoiled by some clumsy tailor; or if there was nothing amiss in the dress, the equipage would be a failure. A man splendidly dressed would appear in a miserable coach, drawn by the most wretched hacks. The same want of taste prevailed in the furniture and maintenance of the houses. On one side you might see gold and silver

[1] Valuable information and complete bibliography is contained in Waliszewsky's book, *L'héritage de Pierre I.*

plate in heaps, on the other the grossest filth. The dress of the ladies was on a par with that of the men; for one well-dressed woman, you might see ten frightfully disfigured; yet the fair sex in Russia are generally handsome; at least, they have pretty faces, though very few have fine figures. This incongruous union of finery and meanness in Russia was almost universal; there were few houses indeed, especially in the first years of the reform, where everything was in keeping.' 'It is incredible how much money went out of the country in this way. A courtier who did not spend above 2000 or 3000 roubles a year in his dress made no figure.' 'In the time of Peter I., and in the succeeding reigns, drinking was much practised at Court; but it was not so in the time of Anna, who could not bear to see anyone drunk. Only Prince Kourakin had permission to drink as much as he pleased. But that so excellent a custom might not be entirely lost, the 29th of January (old style), being the day of the Empress's accession to the throne, was consecrated to Bacchus. On that day every courtier was obliged to toss off a great bumper of Hungary wine, with one knee on the ground, in presence of Her Majesty.' 'The Empress was fond of public entertainments and music, and sent to Italy for all that was necessary for those objects. Comedies, which were acted both in Italian and in German, pleased her extremely, because they generally end with someone getting a beating.' 'Court jesters were formerly much in vogue. The Empress Anna kept six—La Costa, Pedrillo, a prince Golitzin, a prince Wolchonsky, Apraxin and Balakrew. The names will sufficiently indicate that these four last were chosen from among the most ancient families of the Russian nobility. Wolchonsky was the brother-in-law of Count Bestyoushef, at this time Chancellor of the Empire. His special duty was to take care of the Empress's pet greyhound.'[1] Anna did not marry, but during her lifetime appointed her successor. She had a sister Catherine, Duchess of Mecklenburg, who left a daughter Anna, married to

[1] Manstein, *Contemporary Memoirs of Russia*, London, 1856.

Anthony Ulrich, Duke of Brunswick. The issue of this marriage was a son, Ivan, whom Anna appointed to succeed her. Biron, already elected Duke of Courland, the nobility of which once refused to admit the adventurer among its ranks, was appointed Regent.

§ 8. ***Ivan—Elizabeth.***—Anna's last words to Biron are supposed to have been: 'Fear nothing.' His rule, however, was of very short duration. His tactlessness and avarice knew no bounds, and the father of the infant Emperor, the Duke of Brunswick, was treated with scant courtesy. Biron's greatest mistake was to offend Field-Marshal Munich. The latter, although apparently on good terms with the Duke, secretly conspired against him. Munich offered to free Anna, the mother of the Emperor, from Biron. She gladly assented. Biron was consequently arrested in the night by the Guards, and exiled to Pelym, beyond Tobolsk, and Anna was proclaimed Regent. Munich, who entertained the secret hope of taking the reins of the Government into his hands, saw himself deceived in his expectations. The Regent was entirely under the influence of Count Lynar, the Saxon Envoy, and when Munich sent in his resignation she accepted it. But the indolence of the *Pravitelnitza*, or ruler, the altercations between her and her husband, Prince Anthony Ulrich, who openly accused her of her intrigue with Lynar, and the lack of harmony among the Ministers of the Cabinet, contributed to the downfall of Anna. The Russian party, who did their best to throw off the foreign rule, gathered round Elizabeth Petrovna, Peter's only surviving child, and decided to put her upon her father's throne. Anna often suffered the most important affairs to languish, remaining for days together shut up in her chamber, and seeing as few persons as she possibly could. Elizabeth consequently had time to carry out at her ease the necessary intrigues for seizing the throne. 'Without any other dress,' says Manstein, 'than a petticoat and short cloak, and a nightcap made of a handkerchief, the Pravitelnitza admitted none to see her but such as were her friends, or relations to the favourite Julia Mengden, or else some of the foreign

Ministers, who were invited to make up her party at cards. So odd a conduct could not but annoy the grandees of the Empire.'

Elizabeth availed herself of the conduct of the Court and of the indolence of Anna; and although Finch, the British Ambassador, applied to her the words of Shakespeare in Julius Cæsar: 'Her Highness will be too fat to be in a plot,'[1] she was at the head of the conspiracy against the Government. On the 25th of November, Elizabeth, 'universally beloved and adored in this country,' as Finch afterwards wrote, went to the barracks of the Preobrashensky Guards, accompanied only by one of her chamberlains, Mons. Vorontzof, Mons. Lestock, her surgeon, and Mons. Schwartz, her secretary, and, putting herself at the head of the 300 Grenadiers, with their bayonets screwed and grenades in their pockets, she marched directly to the Court, where, after having made the proper dispositions and possessed herself of the different avenues, she seized the young monarch and the little princess, his sister, in their cradles, the great-Duchess Regent and the Duke Generalissimo in their beds, and sent them all, with the favourite, Julia Mengden, to her house.'[2] Munich, Ostermann, Golovkin were also arrested, and Elizabeth was unanimously declared sovereign of Russia. 'There is no describing,' wrote Finch four days after this occurrence, 'the insolence of the Guards since the last event, especially of those who were actors in it, to whom court is paid, as if they were the masters here, which they think themselves, and perhaps with too much reason.' Ivan, the infant Emperor, was shut up in the fortress of Schlüsselburg, and his parents were exiled to Kholmogory, in the north of Russia. Anna died in 1746, whilst her husband outlived her by more than a quarter of a century. Munich, Ostermann and Golovkin were first sentenced to death, but the sentence was commuted, not, however, before they had mounted the scaffold. These dramatic pardons were repeated by Nicholas I. in the trial of the Dekabrists. The description given by Finch is interesting:—

[1] Dispatch, No. 24, June 2nd, 1741, vol. 91.
[2] Dispatch, No. 81, November 26th, 1741, *ibid.*

'Count Ostermann, the Field-Marshal Munich, Count Golovkin, President Mengden, the Grand-Marshal Count Löwenwolde, and a secretary, whose name is Jacoblitz or Swertzkoff, were yesterday brought from the citadel to the place before the colleges, where a scaffold was erected, upon which about ten o'clock Count Ostermann was carried in a chair. When the enumeration of the crimes laid to his charge, containing five sheets of paper, was read to him by a secretary, his Excellency all that time bare-headed in his grey hairs and with a long beard, and with an attentive but firm countenance listening to it, at last his sentence was pronounced. He was drawn forward out of his chair and his head laid on one of the blocks, when the executioner approached, and unbuttoning the collar of his shirt and old nightgown he had on, laid bare his neck. The ceremony took up about a minute, when it was declared to him, that his capital punishment was by Her Majesty changed into a perpetual banishment. Upon this he was lifted up by the soldiers and replaced on his chair, where, after having made a sort of inclination of his head, he immediately said (and they were the only words he uttered) : "Pray give me my wig and cap again," which he immediately put on, and then buttoned his shirt-collar and nightgown without the least change of his countenance.' The same ceremony was repeated with the other five prisoners. Four were to be beheaded, whilst the Field-Marshal was to be quartered, but their punishments were commuted into perpetual banishment. 'The four had all long beards, but the Field-Marshal was shaved, well-dressed, and with as erect, intrepid, and unconcerned a countenance as if he had been at the head of an army or at a review ; and from the very beginning of this process he has always behaved in the same manner before his judges, and in his way from the citadel and back again, during his whole trial, he always affected to joke with his guards, and constantly told them that as he believed, that in some actions before the enemy, where he had had the honour to command them, they had thought him a brave man, they should find him so to the end.'[1]

[1] Dispatch, No. 99, January 19th, 1742, vol. 91.

Ostermann was sent to Berezof, where he died, whilst Munich was transported to Pelym, whither Biron had been banished. The latter was transported to Yaroslavl.

§ 9. ***The Reign of Elizabeth.***—Thus with the help of the Russian party, tired of the German yoke, Elizabeth at last succeeded to the throne of her father. Her success, however, was due to a great extent to the intrigues of the French Ambassador, Marquis de la Chétardie, who, knowing Elizabeth's friendly feeling for France, did his best to hasten her triumph. In fact, an attempt had been made to arrange a marriage between Elizabeth and Louis XV., and Catherine I. had particularly insisted upon Elizabeth acquiring a perfect knowledge of French, and upon her learning how to dance a minuet, which should make a sensation in Versailles.[1] The plan of this marriage was, however, frustrated, although Elizabeth always spoke well of Louis XV. 'Venus,' as Elizabeth was called, was very lax in her morals, and often revealed in her conduct the vivacity of her father and the natural inclinations of her mother, the Livonian peasant, the 'captive of Marienburg.' The chief events in foreign politics during the reign of Elizabeth were a war with Sweden, and Russia's participation in the Seven Years' War, in alliance with France and Austria, against Prussia. Sweden endeavoured to regain the part of Finland conquered by Peter. The Russians, under Lascy, were victorious, and by the treaty of Abo (1743) acquired a new part of Finland, as far as the River Kyoumen. With regard to the Seven Years' War, Elizabeth wavered for some time before she joined the alliance of France and Austria against the Prussian King. But Bestyoushef Ryoumin, the Russian Minister, hated Frederick, and Elizabeth knew his remarks concerning herself and detested him, and so French diplomacy gained its object. The Russians under Field-Marshal Apraxin entered Eastern Prussia, took Memel, and defeated the Prussian general Lehwald. But instead of taking advantage of his victory, Apraxin suddenly retired into Poland. Apraxin, who had, as was proved, been

[1] Waliszewsky, *L'héritage de Pierre I.*, p. 334.

bribed by Frederick, was accused of treason. He was removed from his post and summoned to St. Petersburg where he was arrested. He died in 1758, and General Fermor was appointed Commander-in-Chief. The Chancellor Bestyoushef was overthrown and exiled to his estate. Fermor was defeated by Frederick at Zorndorf, where the Russians lost 20,000 men. But the next year the Prussian King suffered a terrible defeat; he was beaten by the Russians under Soltykof at Kunersdorf (1759). In 1760 the Russians entered Berlin and committed terrible atrocities. 'They are engaged,' said Frederick, 'in digging the grave of humanity.' The great Prussian King was only saved from his critical position by the sudden death of Elizabeth, his implacable enemy, 'la Catin du Nord,' as he styled her, and by the accession to the throne of Peter III., his ardent admirer.

§ 10. ***Reforms—Literature.***—Before proceeding to the reign of Peter, a few words may be added with regard to the internal government of Elizabeth. In spite of her superstitious character and the clerical influence, her reign was distinctly a reign of progress as compared to that of Anna. German influence made way for French influence, and many Russians were sent to Paris to pursue their studies. Capital punishment was abolished, but flagellation and knouting were the more *en vogue*. Elizabeth built many churches, and made some regulations concerning the education of the clergy. Her piety, however, led to intolerance. Thus the Raskolniks, the Armenians, and the Mussulmans were oppressed. The Jews were expelled as the 'enemies of Christ.' Although Elizabeth herself possessed almost no education, Russian literature began to flourish during her reign. Vasily Tatitshef, Governor of Orenburg, wrote the first Russian history (1764-1784), and composed a Testament something similar to the Domostroy.[1] Trediakovsky translated many French works, and fixed the rules of Russian prosody. Russian lit-

[1] *Book of Household Management*, a work attributed to Sylvester, the adviser of Ivan IV. The book gives a description of Russian domestic life in the XVIth century.

térateurs in general contented themselves at first with translations, and with introducing the masterworks of the West to their countrymen. The one great, original, and really Russian author of this age was Lomonosof, who was the son of a poor fisherman in the government of Archangelsk. Lomonosof (1711-1763) made his début with his ode 'On the Capture of Khotin.' During the reign of Elizabeth, and on the advice of Ivan Shouvalof, the first Russian university was founded at Moscow, 1754, and in 1757 the Academy of Fine Arts was established in St. Petersburg. Under the directorship of Alexander Soumarokof the first Russian theatre was opened in St. Petersburg, where Theodor Volkof and his troupe presented plays by Soumarokof, Trediakovsky and Lomonosof, but more often translations from the English, and especially from the French.

§ 11. Elizabeth's first lovers were the officers of her father's guards. Later, when on the throne, the most noteworthy of her favourites were Lestock, Ivan Shouvalof, and especially Alexis Razoumovsky, to whom she is supposed to have been secretly married. He was the son of a simple Cossack in the Ukraine, and came, on account of his beautiful voice, as Court singer to St. Petersburg, where he attracted Elizabeth's attention. Elizabeth died on the 25th of December 1761. 'And such was the sensation throughout St. Petersburg,' writes Princess Dashkova in her *Memoirs*, 'which this event produced that, notwithstanding the usual festivity of the day, an expression of grief and apprehension was on every countenance.' Frederick II., when the news of the great event reached him from Warsaw, exclaimed, 'The sky begins to clear!' and in one of his letters he wrote, '*Morta la bestia, morta il veneno.*' [1]

§ 12. ***Peter III.***—Elizabeth, anxious to appoint a successor, called from Germany her nephew Peter, the son of her deceased sister Anna, Duchess of Holstein-Gottorp, and appointed him her heir. He was married in 1744 to Sophia of Anhalt-Zerbst, who took the name of Catherine in the Greek Church. Peter was a man of weak character, almost half-witted, and passed his time in puerile amusements and

[1] Letter to Kneiphausen, January 22.

revelries; whilst his young wife united to a firm character and high intelligence the higher culture which she brought from Germany. They were ill-mated. Hertzen, in his preface to the *Memoirs* of that young princess, destined to become Empress of Russia, graphically describes her position at the Russian Court:—

'Her position at St. Petersburg was horrible. On one side was her mother, a peevish, scolding, greedy, niggardly, pedantic German, boxing her ears, and taking away her new dresses to appropriate them to her own use; on the other, the Empress Elizabeth, a coarse and grumbling virago, never quite sober, jealous, envious, causing every step of the young princess to be watched, every word reported, taking offence at everything, and all this after having given her for a husband the most ridiculous Benedict of the age.' 'Her relations with the Grand Duke were monstrous, degrading. He made her the confidante of his amorous intrigues. Drunk from the age of ten, he came one night, in liquor, to entertain his wife with a description of the charms and graces of the daughter of Biron; and as Catherine pretended to be asleep, he gave her a punch with his fist to awaken her. This booby kept a kennel of dogs, which infested the air at the side of his wife's bed-chamber, and hung rats in his own, to punish them according to the rules of the martial law.' [1]

'As the day of the marriage ceremony came nearer,' writes Catherine in her *Memoirs*, 'I became more and more melancholy. My heart predicted but little happiness; ambition alone sustained me.'

§ 13. ***Peter's Reign and Assassination.*** — Peter III. ascended the throne after the death of his aunt, but his reign was of very short duration. Some historians have called attention to the fact that the laws which this unfortunate Emperor found time to pass do not seem to coincide with his mental weakness, which has perhaps been a little exaggerated. Peter's first step on his accession to the throne was the conclusion of a peace with the King of

[1] A. Hertzen, *Memoirs of the Empress Catherine II.* London, 1859.

Prussia. The Russian military forces who had fought against Frederick now joined the latter's army. Peter also began to make preparations for a war against Denmark. He opened the prisons, and gave freedom to many prisoners awaiting trial. The exiles were called back from Siberia; and the two men who once played such a great part in Russian history — Munich and Biron — again met at the Russian Court. The Emperor issued a manifesto abolishing the compulsory service of the nobility instituted by Peter. The persecution of the Raskolniks ceased, and the Secret Chancellery was abolished. The Emperor also made an attempt to confiscate the Church property and the lands belonging to the monasteries, and to add them to the Crown lands. This measure and his German tendencies, as well as his strict military discipline, made him very unpopular among the clergy and the Guards. Catherine, who was living apart from her husband, availed herself of this unpopularity to dethrone the Emperor and to usurp the Russian Crown. Her principal assistants in the *coup d'état* were the brothers Orlof and the Princess Dashkova. On the 8th of July Catherine visited the barracks, and the Guards took the oath of allegiance to her, recognising her as sovereign. The capital followed. Only one regiment, of which the Emperor had been colonel from his infancy, 'maintained a chagrined and serious air.' The officers of this corps refused to march, but they were all arrested, and other officers, in different uniforms, were appointed to lead the soldiers, whose ill-will was evident.'[1]

Peter was informed of the movement, but he took no decided steps. Soon afterwards the news came that the Empress was marching at the head of about 15,000 men, and then the Emperor lost heart and signed his abdication.

§ 14. 'This surprising revolution,' writes Keith, the English Ambassador,[2] 'was brought about and completed in little more than two hours, without one drop of blood being spilt, or any act of violence committed, and all the quarters of this

[1] Rulhière, *Histoire, ou anecdotes, sur la Révolution en Russie.* Paris, 1797; London, 1797. [2] *Cf. Sbornik*, vol. xii., No. 2, July 12th.

city, at any distance from this palace, especially the street where I and most part of His Majesty's subjects reside, were quiet as if nothing had happened.'

'About ten o'clock in the evening the Empress marched out of town, on horseback, at the head of twelve or fourteen thousand men, and a great train of artillery, and took the road towards Peterhoff in order to attack the Emperor at that place or Orienbaum, or wherever they should meet him, and next day, in the afternoon, we received the account of His Imperial Majesty having surrendered his person, and resigned his crown, without one stroke being struck.' Peter was taken to Peterhof, 'but died a few days afterwards,' say the Russian historians. It is generally accepted that he was strangled by Alexis Orlof.[1]

§ 15. A passage from a letter written by Catherine, and addressed to Count Poniatovsky, her favourite, and afterwards King of Poland, is worth quoting: 'After this I placed the deposed Emperor under the command of Alexis Orlof, four chosen officers, and a detachment of quiet and sober men, and sent him to a distance of twenty-seven versts from St. Petersburg to a place called Ropsha, very retired, but very pleasant, where he was to remain while decent compartments were being prepared for him at Schlüsselburg. But it pleased God to dispose otherwise. Terror had brought on a dysentery, which continued for three days and stopped on the fourth. He drank to excess on that day, for he had everything he wanted except his liberty. He had, however, asked for nothing but his mistress, his dog, his negro, and his violin; but for fear of scandal, and not wishing to increase the general excitement, I sent him only the three last named. The hemorrhoidal colic again came on, and notwithstanding the efforts of the physicians he at last sank, demanding a Lutheran clergyman. I was afraid the officers might have poisoned him, so much was he hated. I had him opened, but not a trace of poison could be discovered; he had been carried off by a stroke of apoplexy. His heart was excessively small, and also dried up.'[2]

[1] Rulhière, *ibid.*, p. 166.

[2] *La Cour de Russie*, p. 209.

CHAPTER XII

CATHERINE II

§ 1. The little German princess became Empress of Russia, and the long reign, licentious, dazzling and tyrannical, of the 'Northern Semiramis' began. Her reign was brilliant, for Russian troops were victorious, and the boundaries of the Russian Empire extended to the west and to the south It was tyrannical, because only the Court basked in the sunshine of her favours and liberality; the people, the 'magnum ignotum,' in Hertzen's words, had no share in it. This people was a stranger to its rulers, and its 'fathers' and Tsars knew it not. 'What interest could that German princess take in that people, unexpressed, poor, semi-barbarous, which concealed itself in its villages, behind the snow, behind bad roads, and only appeared in the streets of St. Petersburg like a foreign outcast, with its persecuted beard and prohibited dress—tolerated only through contempt.' Crimes and acts of tyranny were probably more numerous than the victories of the Russian soldiers and famous generals. Torrents of blood swamped the monuments of her reign and dimmed its lustre. Volumes have been written on the reign of this Empress, but, compelled to bring the history of Russia within the frame of a primer, a brief sketch of the chief events is only possible here. They may be divided into two: (1) Foreign Policy, and (2) Internal Government.

§ 2. ***Foreign Policy.***—The Russian arms were crowned with success in the wars against Turkey and Sweden on the one hand, and Catherine took her lion's share in Poland, when that unhappy country was divided among its three neighbours, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. Turkey, incited by French diplomatists and Polish confederates, had declared war against Russia in 1767. It lasted about six years, during which the Russians, under Roumyanzef, Spiridof, and Greig (an Englishman), gained many victories. In 1774 the peace of Kout-

shouk-Kaynardji was concluded. Azof, Kertsh, and Kinburn, on the shores of the Black Sea, were ceded to Russia, the Crimean Khans were declared independent, and the Russian merchant ships were granted free access to the Mediterranean. In 1783 the Crimea was definitely united to Russia. Turkey soon declared war again. A project was being formed at the Russian Court, strongly supported by Potemkin, to drive the Turks out of Europe. This was known as the Greek project, and was the cause of an alliance between Russia and the Emperor Joseph II. The Turks were defeated; Potemkin himself took Otshakof (1788), whilst Suvarof, one of Russia's most famous generals, carried off many brilliant victories. In 1791 Potemkin died, whilst negotiating a peace. The treaty was signed soon after his death at Jassy, and Russia acquired a strip of land between the Bug and the Dniester. Whilst engaged in a war with Turkey, Russia found a new enemy in the King of Sweden, Gustavus III. The fight was mostly carried on at sea, where the Russian admiral Greig was victorious. The war terminated with the Treaty of Verela, by which both countries remained in possession of their former territories.

§ 3. ***The Annexation of Poland.***—Owing to its constitution, the *pacta conventa*, the continual feuds between the nobles, and the annoyances and restrictions exercised against the followers of the Greek Church, Poland was in a condition of weakness. This led to a complete state of anarchy, of which Poland's neighbours were only too eager to avail themselves. In 1763, after the death of Augustus, Stanislaus Poniatovsky, one of Catherine's favourites whilst she was still Grand Duchess, was elected king. 'Under the protection of foreign bayonets Poniatovsky inaugurated his fatal reign, in which Poland was thrice dismembered and erased from the list of nations.' A reform in the constitution would have saved Poland, but it was too late. The dissenters, or the adherents of the Greek Church, again complained of the oppression, and were supported by Russia. In 1768 a treaty was concluded between Poland and Russia, by which Poland's

constitution could not be altered without the consent of Russia. In 1768 a confederacy was formed at Bar, with the object of depriving the dissenters of their rights, and of driving the invaders from the country. The king appealed to Russia for help, and a general insurrection was the result. A notorious event in this period is the butchery at Ouman (a town in the Ukraine belonging to Count Potocky), where the Greek Orthodox Cossacks, under Gonta, committed unheard-of atrocities against the landowners and Jewish children. The King of Prussia now proposed the partition of Poland. By the treaty of 1771 Russia acquired White Russia (or Byelo-Russia), Polotzk, Vitebsk, Mohilef and Gomel; Prussia took Western Prussia, and Austria came into possession of Red Russia and Galicia. Poland continued her death struggle for another two decades, when she was completely dismembered. An attempt was now made to abolish the anarchic order of things. By the constitution of the 3rd of May 1791 the throne was declared hereditary, and the royal power was considerably strengthened, whilst that of the usually tumultuous Diet was diminished, by the abolition of the *liberum veto*.

§ 4. Again the malcontents appealed to Russia. Catherine eagerly availed herself of the pretext, and treated the reformers and patriots of May the 3rd as Jacobins. The Russian army invaded the country, a second partition took place in 1793, and Russia acquired another portion of Poland as far as the centre of Lithuania and Volhynia. A Diet was convoked at Grodno and compelled by Russian military force to ratify the arrangement. Polish patriots now took up arms and made a last gallant attempt to save the national independence. Bravely they fought, but in vain. Thaddaeus Kosciuszko, Poland's hero, who, like Lafayette, had fought in the American war, raised the flag of independence. But the nobles abandoned him, and he was defeated by the Russian general, Suvarof, in the battle of Maciejowice in 1794. Kosciuszko himself was wounded and taken prisoner. He is supposed to have uttered the words, 'Finis Poloniae,' but he afterwards denied this. Paul I., on his accession to the throne, set

Kosciuszko free, and the latter died in Switzerland in 1817. Suvarof now advanced towards Warsaw and stormed the suburb Praga, which was connected with the capital by a bridge over the Vistula, and at this point the Russian soldiers committed many atrocities. Poland's independence was now completely crushed and the country divided. Prussia took Warsaw and the eastern part of the country, Austria gained Cracow, Lublin and Sandomir, whilst Russia took Lithuania as far as the Niemen, and Volhynia as far as the Bug. In 1795 Catherine finally annexed Courland. She had put Biron in possession of the Duchy, but his rule was only a preliminary to the complete annexation of the Duchy.

§ 5. ***Internal Government—Pougatshef.***—Turning to internal events during the reign of Catherine we may notice that, in 1764, Ivan, the son of Anna Leopoldovna, imprisoned by Elizabeth, was murdered by his gaolers, owing to the attempt of a certain Mirovich to deliver the unhappy prisoner. Mirovich was arrested and beheaded. In 1771 a plague broke out in Moscow and gave cause to an insurrection of the ignorant masses, who accused the doctors of having brought about this catastrophe by fumigating the streets.

Two years later Catherine's throne suddenly seemed to totter. The danger that threatened was the revolt of Pougatshef, who was joined by the discontented peasants, Cossacks, and Raskolniks. Pougatshef, following the example set in previous years by the false Demetrius, gave himself out as the Tsar Peter III. who was supposed to have escaped his assassins, and to have intended to free the people from oppression. Catherine sent General Bibikof to quell the revolt. Pougatshef was taken prisoner, having been betrayed by his friends, and was executed at Moscow. It was on this occasion that Catherine put an end to the military Republic of Cossacks on the Dnieper and destroyed the *sech*. In 1787 Catherine set out on her journey to the Crimea, a journey which may be considered as a symbol of her reign, dazzling and artificial. Thanks to the arrangements made by Potemkin, the provinces through which she

passed bore the appearance of prosperity. She was met on her way by Stanislaus Poniatovsky and by the German Emperor Joseph in Kherson.

§ 6. ***Catherine's Reforms.***—One of Catherine's first measures of internal government was the confiscation of the lands belonging to the churches and monasteries. In 1766 she convoked an assembly with a view to elaborating a new code, but the war with Turkey compelled her to break up this commission. By a ukase of 1775 the Empire was divided into fifty governments instead of the fifteen provinces of which it had hitherto consisted. Every government or province was administered by a governor and vice-governor. She gave the nobles a provincial organisation, and granted some privileges to the merchants of the towns. But she did nothing for the peasant. On the contrary, a law was passed by which the serfs were forbidden to complain against their masters and serfdom was introduced into the Ukraine. Catherine founded new cities and had many buildings erected. She was eager to instruct and educate the upper and middle classes.

§ 7. ***Literature.***—A friend of Voltaire, Diderot, Montesquieu, and the encyclopædists, she was a patron of learning and letters. Under the influence of France, Russian literature developed, and Russian comedy flourished. Among the most noteworthy authors are Von-visin, who wrote *The Brigadier* and the *Minor*, and the poet Derzhavin. Catherine's patronage of art and literature, and her friendship for the French philosophers did not, however, prevent her from severely punishing two Russians, who did much for their country by assisting the Government in spreading education. Novikof, editor and publisher of periodicals, wrote a book entitled, *A Journey to Moscow*, in which he expressed liberal views. The author and the printer, Radistshef, were arrested and exiled to Siberia.

Catherine's son Paul, whom she treated with neglect, almost amounting to aversion, was married to Augusta, Princess of Hesse-Darmstadt, and after her death to Dorothea

Sophia of Wurtemberg, who received the name of Maria in the Greek Church. Catherine, in order to gain influence in Sweden, conceived the plan of marrying her granddaughter Alexandra to Gustavus IV., King of Sweden. The king arrived at St. Petersburg, was betrothed, and arrangements were made for the marriage, but on the day of the ceremony the match was broken off. The king refused to grant the princess a private chapel or priests in the palace at Stockholm; and furthermore requested that, 'in public, and in all outward ceremonies, she must profess the religion of the country.' Persuasion was in vain and the king left St. Petersburg.

§ 8. ***Catherine's Death.***—Catherine's favouritism and the laxity of her morals are well known. 'Catherine,' says Masson, 'with all the genius and understanding which she evinced, notwithstanding the exterior decency she affected, must have thoroughly known and despised the Russians, since she ventured so frequently to place by her side young men taken from the people, and hold them up to receive the respect and homage of the whole nation, without any other title to this distinction than one for which she ought to have blushed.'[1] Some of them displayed ambition and ability, and gaining great influence over the Empress, ruled the Empire. Such were Gregory Orlof, and especially Potemkin, who for a long time virtually ruled Russia and whom Catherine always considered not only as her lover, but as her friend and protector.

Catherine died of apoplexy on the 17th of November 1796. Her valet found her 'prostrate on the floor, between two doors.' She died after having remained thirty-seven hours in a state of insensibility. 'Oh Catherine!' wrote Masson in his work, 'dazzled by thy greatness, of which I have had a near view, charmed with thy beneficence, which rendered so many individuals happy, seduced by the thousand amiable qualities that have been admired in thee, I would fain

[1] *Secret Memoirs of Catherine II. and the Court of St. Petersburg.* London, 1905.

have erected a monument in thy glory; but torrents of blood flow in upon me and inundate my design; the chains of thirty millions of slaves ring in my ears, and deafen; the crimes which have reigned in thy name call forth my indignation.'

CHAPTER XIII

RUSSIA IN NINETEENTH CENTURY

§ 1. ***Paul I.***—Paul was forty years of age when he ascended the throne. He had been neglected by his mother, who had always been afraid that he might be called to the throne by the nation. Paul possessed some good qualities, but they were stifled by the ill-treatment of his mother. She could not bear him because he was the son of Peter III., and this fact has been urged as a proof of his being the son of the assassinated Tsar. Hertzen points out that the *Memoirs* of Catherine, and her explicit avowal, prove that the Imperial house of Russia not only does not belong to the Romanof family, but that it does not even belong to that of Holstein-Gottorp. Paul, however, cherished the memory of Peter as his father, and, as soon as he succeeded his mother, he ordered the remains of his father to be disinterred, brought to St. Petersburg in great pomp, and buried at the side of Catherine in the Church of St. Peter and Paul. The sole vengeance he took on the assassins of his father was to compel them to follow the coffin and then to banish them. 'There was a touch of Hamlet in Paul I.,' says Rambaud.

§ 2. His generosity and condescension alternated with capricious outbursts of anger; punishments succeeded favours with great rapidity. His first step was to abolish the ukase of Peter, by which the Emperor could nominate his successor, and to issue a new law by which the succession was to be based on the principle of primogeniture. In his foreign policy he showed peaceful inclinations, and declared that Russia required rest after many years of constant warfare. Many State

prisoners, among them the Polish hero Kosciuszko, were set free. Paul, however, was not popular, and his reforms in the army and the introduction of German uniforms increased his unpopularity. In spite of his peaceful inclinations he joined England, Austria and Turkey in the war against France. The French had taken Malta, and the Maltese knights sent a deputation to Paul and elected him Grand Master.

§ 3. ***Suvarof.***—Suvarof, who lived in retirement—he had incurred his Emperor's disfavour by an epigram—was appointed commander and ordered to march into Italy. The Russian general achieved victories on the banks of the river Adda, the river Trebbia, and at Novi. He crossed the Alps by the St. Gothard and entered Switzerland, but here the second Russian general, Korsakof, had been defeated by the French, under Massena, at Zurich. Suvarof was compelled to retreat into the Glarus, and to lead the remains of his army back to Russia. The general retired in disgrace to his country seat, where he died in 1800. Paul, as Suvarof himself had done, accused Austria of treason in the Italian campaign, and Bonaparte, availing himself of the Emperor's indignation against Austria, managed to win Paul over to his cause. Paul began to evince a great admiration for Bonaparte and entered into an alliance with him. A plan was formulated to invade India and to drive out the English. This coalition with the First Consul, however, was soon brought to an end by the death of Paul. He was assassinated by conspirators dissatisfied with his foreign policy. Pahlen, Chief of the Police, Platon Zubof, the last favourite of Catherine, with their helpers, penetrated into his apartment on the night of March the 24th, 1801, and strangled him. His son Alexander was proclaimed Tsar.

§ 4. ***Alexander I.***—Alexander I., 'The First Gentleman of Europe,' ascended the throne amid the acclamation of the whole population. He had been the darling grandson of his grandmother, 'the only deep passion of Catherine,' who herself guided and superintended his education. She even intended to appoint him her successor. During his reign

Russia extended her boundaries, and gained a preponderant influence in general European politics. With the accession of Alexander a change in Russia's foreign diplomacy was at once noticeable. The Emperor's first action was to conclude a treaty with England. Although the Tsar endeavoured to keep up his relations with France, he soon joined the European coalition against Napoleon. The execution of the Duc d'Enghien produced a feeling of indignation at the Court of St. Petersburg, and Alexander notified the French Government that he expected satisfactory explanations from the First Consul. Napoleon—perhaps rightly, too—replied that France had demanded no inquiry about the assassination of Paul. The result was an ultimatum addressed to France, which naturally meant war. Russia concluded a treaty with England, by which the latter promised to pay £1,200,000 pounds for every 100,000 men that Russia would furnish. Sweden joined England, and Alexander had an interview with Frederick-William III. beside the coffin of Frederick the Great, where they swore to remain faithful to the treaty of Potsdam. Thus the third European coalition against Napoleon was formed. The Russian army, under Koutousof, was to join the Austrians at Ulm, which fortress, however, was compelled to surrender. The campaign ended with the battle of Austerlitz, where Napoleon achieved one of his famous victories. The Russians lost 21,000 men and 133 cannons. Austria signed the treaty of Pressburg, but Russia still continued the war in coalition with Prussia. Having scattered the Prussians at Jena, Napoleon attacked the Russian army, under Benningsen, at Eylau. Benningsen, in spite of great courage, was defeated. Soon afterwards occurred the battle of Friedland, where the Russians lost 20,000 men.

§ 5. ***The Treaty of Tilsit.***—Alexander sued for peace (7th of July), and on the 25th of June 1807 the famous interview of the two emperors took place on a raft in the Niemen. By the Treaty of Tilsit Byalostock was added to Russia, and the two emperors promised to help each other in

future wars. Alexander also promised to introduce the Continental system in Russia, *i.e.*, the exclusion of English goods from her ports. This latter clause, as well as Russia's fear that Napoleon might be secretly intending to reconstitute the kingdom of Poland, soon led to an estrangement between the two Powers, and war again broke out, which led to Napoleon's famous invasion of Russia in 1812. With an army of 600,000, 'la grande armée,' the French Emperor crossed the Niemen and entered Russia. The Russian troops, commanded by Koutousof, met the enemy at Borodino (September the 7th), but were defeated and lost several generals, among them Bagration.

§ 6. ***Napoleon's Invasion of Russia.***—Napoleon marched towards Moscow, and entered the city which had been evacuated and abandoned by the inhabitants. The policy followed by the Russians in this war was to tire out the enemy, and in this attempt they were greatly supported by the geographical position of the country. Count Rostoptshin, Governor of Moscow, evacuated the town, but before his retreat gave the order to set the city on fire. On the 14th of September Napoleon entered Moscow. 'Napoleon pensively entered the Kremlin. At the sight of this half-Gothic and half-modern palace of the Ruriks and the Romanofs, of their throne, still standing, of the cross of the great Ivan, and of the finest part of the city which is overlooked by the Kremlin, and which the flames, as yet confined to the Bazaar, seemed disposed to spare, his former hopes revived. His ambition was flattered by this conquest. "At length then," he exclaimed, "I am in Moscow, in the ancient palace of the Tsars, in the Kremlin!" He examined every part of it with pride, curiosity and gratification.'[1] Soon, however, the city was ablaze and the fire raged for six days. Napoleon lingered on for another month among the ruins of Moscow, in the hope that Alexander would open negotiations. This hope proved vain, and Napoleon decided upon the retreat, which proved so disastrous to the 'grande armée.' A severe winter set in and snow

[1] M. de Ségur, *Histoire de l'Expedition de Napoléon.*

and frost came to Russia's assistance, fighting the 'grande armée' as the elements once fought against Philip's Armada. Thousands upon thousands of the French soldiers were frozen to death, and ghastly lines of corpses lay along the snowfields of Russia. The French reached Smolensk and crossed the Berezina, where the bridges broke, hurling thousands into the stream. Napoleon arrived on the morning of the 3rd of December at Malodeczko. 'Some provisions were found there, the forage was abundant, the day beautiful, the sun shining, and the cold bearable.' Here he announced his determination to set off immediately for Paris. He left the army at Smorgoni under the command of Murat and travelled to Paris incognito, accompanied by Duroc, Caulaincourt and Lobau.

§ 7. In 1813, at the battle of Leipsic, which lasted three days, Napoleon was defeated. The Russians entered Paris with their allies; Napoleon was dethroned and the Bourbons reinstated. At the Vienna Congress Russia received the greatest part of the Duchy of Warsaw (which had been formed by Napoleon) under the name of the Kingdom of Poland. Before concluding the relation of the foreign events during the reign of Alexander, mention must be made of the war with Sweden, which terminated with the treaty of Frederickshamm. This gave Russia the part of Finland eastwards of the river Tornea, and the Aland Islands. In annexing Finland, as a Grand Duchy, Alexander granted the inhabitants many privileges, which, however, are being gradually abolished During the reign of Alexander the ancient kingdom of Georgia was also annexed to Russia. The Georgians had often invoked the help of the Moscow Tsars against their Moslem enemies, and after the death of Heraklius II., his son George surrendered the country, with the ancient city of Tiflis, to Russia.

§ 8. ***Internal Government—Reforms.***—Alexander, who had been a pupil of the Swiss, Laharpe, began his reign with liberal measures and reforms. The period of stress and terrorism was at an end. The censorship of the press was greatly relaxed, corporal punishment for the nobles, priests,

and citizens of the guilds, was abolished. The condition of the serfs was ameliorated by the ukase of 1803. The Secret Chancellery was suppressed and the Senate transformed into a High Court of Justice. New universities were founded at Kazan, Kharkof, and St. Petersburg, a school of Oriental languages was founded at Moscow, and a commercial high school at Odessa. The soul of these reformers, the man who gained the favour and confidence of the Tsar and used his influence for progress and advancement, was Michel Gramatine, known by the name of Speransky. The great hopes thus initiated, however, were not realised. The Tsar soon seemed to regret his generous and liberal measures. Speransky was replaced by the reactionary Aractsheyef, a staunch partisan of absolutism and an enemy of reform. Alexander might have been animated by good intentions, but he fell under the influence of reactionaries. 'That ideal character,' wrote Masson, 'which enchants us in "Telemachus" is almost realised in him.' 'He wants, however,' adds Masson, 'the courage and confidence to discover the man of merit, always modest and unobtrusive, and it is to be feared that the most importunate and impudent, who are generally the most ignorant and vicious, will find little difficulty in procuring access to him.' This was true. And although 'Heaven had perhaps destined him to render millions of people more free than they were or are,' he died an absolutist Tsar, opposed to liberal tendencies. Alexander I. died suddenly at Taganrog in 1825, without leaving any male issue.

§ 9. ***Nicholas I., 1825-1855.***—The nearest heir to the throne, according to the ukase issued by Paul, was Alexander's brother Constantine, at that time Viceroy of Poland. Constantine, however, having married a beautiful Polish woman, Countess Groudzinska, was willing to give up an empire for love. He renounced the crown in favour of his brother Nicholas. In 1822 Constantine's act of renunciation had been deposited in the Ouspensky Sobor in Moscow. Whether Nicholas was really unaware of this act or whether it is politic to refuse at first—we have seen many Russian rulers refuse the Crown at first

—is a point which has not been made quite clear. The fact, however, remains that whilst Constantine was taking the oath of allegiance at Warsaw to Nicholas, the latter made the soldiers swear allegiance to his brother Constantine. Only when Constantine, in a letter addressed to his brother, again refused the crown, did Nicholas declare himself Tsar.

§ 10. ***The Insurrection of the Dekabrists.***—A few Russians, some of whom were officers, steeped in Western thought and civilisation, tried to take advantage of this short interregnum, and made an effort to gain a constitution. They caused a military insurrection, making the soldiers believe that Constantine was the rightful Tsar. Two regiments in St. Petersburg revolted, raising the cry, 'Long live Constantine and the Constitution!' They were told that constitution (the Russian word *constitutyzah*) was the name of Constantine's wife. This revolution, known in Russian history as the revolt of the Dekabrists (or Decembrists) ended in a very far-reaching persecution. Pestel, Ryleef, S. Mouravyef, Bestyoushef Ryoumin, and Kakhovsky, the leaders of the movement, were hanged under dramatic circumstances, and 116 others were sent to Siberian mines. The insurrection failed, because the cry for political liberty, uttered by a few individuals, found no echo among the masses. Autocracy once more triumphed, and Nicholas, having quelled this revolution, became henceforth the very incarnation of Absolutism. In his home government he claimed entire obedience, and in his foreign policy he was always on the side of oppression. 'He to whom is accorded unlimited rule,' says the Marquis de Custine in his famous book on Russia, 'sees, even in the common occurrences of life, the spectre of revolt. Persuaded that his rights are sacred, he recognises no bounds to them but those of his own intelligence and will, and he is, therefore, subject to constant annoyance. An unlucky fly, buzzing in the Imperial palace during a ceremony, mortifies the Emperor; the independence of nature appears to him a bad example; everything which he cannot subject to his arbitrary laws becomes in his eyes as

a soldier who, in the heat of battle, revolts against his officer. The Emperor of Russia is a military chief, and every day with him is a day of battle.' Nicholas I. considered himself as the armed champion of 'Holy Russia' and of autocratic principles. Russian Orthodoxy and Russian Fatherland became synonymous terms to him, and although he maintained that his subjects should expect from their sovereign not pity but justice, his own conception of justice was a very partial one.

§ 11. His was an era of immobility and conservatism, and even his educational measures bore the stamp of reaction. The censorship was severe, and everything coming from the West having a liberal aspect and tendency was expunged. European travellers were allowed to visit Russia only under certain conditions, and were usually shadowed, or at least watched by the police, whilst the subject of the Tsar was compelled to ask special permission if he wished to leave the country. Passports were granted to emigrants for three or five years only. 'His reign,' says Seignobos,[1] 'was distinguished by his constant attempt to break with Western civilisation and to restore the old Russian system in the Empire.'

Nicholas re-introduced the law of entail and endeavoured to establish a middle-class by creating a new division of the town inhabitants, that of chief-citizens, who were to enjoy certain privileges. In 1830 he issued a complete collection of laws.

§ 12. In 1826 war broke out with Persia and ended with the treaty of Tourkmantshai (1828), by which Russia acquired the provinces of Erivan and Nakhitshevan, and Persia paid an indemnity of 20,000,000 roubles. Hardly had the war ended when Nicholas espoused the cause of the Greeks in their struggle against the Turks. He signed with France and England the treaty of London. The signatories notified to the Porte their intention to interfere on behalf of the Orthodox Christians. Turkey resisted, and in the naval battle of Navarino the Sultan's fleet was destroyed (1827). The Russians under Paskevich entered Adrianople, and Sultan

[1] *Histoire Politique.* Paris, 1897.

Mahmoud was compelled to open negotiations. The independence of Greece was recognised, and the Russians gained not only access to the Black Sea, but the right of interfering on behalf of the Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman dominions.

§ 13. ***The Polish Insurrection.***—From 1815 Poland enjoyed a special charter, granted to her by Alexander. The country had a special army and a special administration, and had begun to prosper again. But towards the end of his reign, Alexander, under the influence of Araktsheyef, seemed to regret the charter. In 1830 Nicholas convoked the Diet, which had not assembled since 1822, and presided over it as King of Poland. But the demands of the deputies to reunite Poland with the ancient Lithuanian provinces offended the autocrat, and he left Warsaw dissatisfied. The discontent in Poland increased, and in November 1830 the revolution broke out. The Belvedere, the palace of the Viceroy, was attacked, and Constantine escaped in the night. The Poles hoped for help from France but were disappointed. The Polish army, amounting to 90,000 men, was mobilised and Chlopicky nominated generalissimo. He resigned, however, and Radzivill was appointed in his stead. The Poles entered Lithuania. In the meantime Chlopicky tried to negotiate with Nicholas, but the Tsar, having refused to treat with rebel subjects, the Diet declared that the Romanofs had forfeited the crown of Poland and elected a new government, appointing Prince Adam Czartorysky as President. A Russian army, consisting of 120,000 men, under Diebitsh, entered Poland, and in spite of the battle of Grokhof, where the Poles fought valiantly, the enemy approached Warsaw. Radzivill laid down his command and Skrzynecky succeeded him. He was defeated at Ostrolenka, and the renewed heroic resistance of the Poles was of no avail; the Russian army continued to advance towards Warsaw. Diebitsh and Constantine died of the cholera, and Paskevich took over the command of the Russian troops. He crossed the Vistula and bombarded Warsaw, compelling the capital to surrender (September 1831). Paskevich was appointed Viceroy of Poland,

and the last semblance of independence of the unhappy country was crushed. Poland was declared a part of the Empire and 'order reigned at Warsaw.' Their Church, their language, and their distinct administration were taken from the unhappy Poles. The University of Warsaw was suppressed and the educational institutions closed.[1]

§ 14. ***The Struggle in Hungary.***—Nicholas I., proud of his autocratic power in his own dominions, became a champion of kings against revolutionary movements in Europe. In 1848 Hungary rose under her great son, Kossuth, and endeavoured to separate from Austria and to constitute herself an independent kingdom. Like a 'Don Quixote of Absolutism' Nicholas placed his armies at the disposal of Austria, and Hungary's struggle was in vain. The hope of the Magyars was crushed. Kossuth laid down his dictatorial powers in the hands of Georgey, who was compelled to capitulate in 1849.

§ 15. ***The Crimean War.*** — Nicholas, not content to crush revolutions, and to fight for autocratic principles, had the proud dream of placing the Russian eagle on the minarets of Tsaregrad. But he met the French and English fleets, who were watching his movements, under the walls of Byzantium, and the plans of the proud Tsar were shattered. The handing over of the keys to the holy places in Jerusalem to the Catholics served as a pretext to Nicholas, who considered himself the protector of the Orthodox Church, and Russia declared war against Turkey. The Russian army under Gortshakof passed the Pruth and entered Moldavia in 1853. In November the Turkish fleet was attacked and annihilated by the Russian Admiral Nakhimof, and Osman Pasha, the Turkish admiral, was taken prisoner. The fleet of the allies, France and England, at once entered the Black Sea, and in 1854 they openly declared themselves for Turkey. Odessa was bombarded and Bomarsund in the Baltic taken. The English fleet first tried to blockade Cronstadt but abandoned this project. The allies then landed in the vicinity of Eupatoria in the Crimea, ready to invest Sebastopol. Menshikof,

[1] The University of Vilna had been previously suppressed.

the Russian general commanding the Crimean army, tried to cut their route and met the enemy at Alma, where he was defeated. The famous siege of Sebastopol now began. The fire was opened on the 17th October. On the 25th the famous cavalry charge of Balaklava took place. On the 5th of November the sanguinary battle of Inkerman was fought. In the midst of the siege, whilst the allies were making preparations for a new assault, Nicholas died, on the 2nd of March 1855.

§ 16. ***Alexander II., 1855-1881.***—Nicholas was succeeded by his son Alexander. The siege of Sebastopol was continued, and, on the advice of Cavour, 15,000 to 20,000 Sardinians appeared in the field to assist the allied forces. The Russian command was entrusted to Prince Gortshakof. On the 6th of April the allied forces renewed the fire upon Sebastopol, which lasted fifteen days. The Russians were defeated at Tshernaya. On the 8th of September another bombardment was opened. The Malakof was stormed by the French, and the Redan by the English. The Russians were compelled to abandon Sebastopol, the siege of which fortress had lasted eleven months. By the treaty of Paris, Russia abandoned her right to interfere in internal matters in the Danubian principalities. The Black Sea was neutralised, and Russia lost the right to keep her ships of war there (1856). In spite of the unfavourable issue of the war of Sebastopol, Russia extended her dominion in the Caucasus. Prince Bariatynsky, nominated commander of the Caucasian troops, undertook a decisive campaign against the Caucasian tribes. Shamyl, the mountaineer chief, was compelled to surrender after a valiant struggle, and the Caucasus fell under Russian sway.

§ 17. ***Emancipation of the Serfs.***—In 1861, on the 19th of February, Alexander signed the Act of Emancipation of the Serfs. Nicholas had encouraged the landlords to liberate the serfs, but it was Alexander who was the real liberator of these 25,000,000 slaves. The landlords received an indemnity, and the soil became the property of the serfs.

The hopes and expectations, however, which were centred in this measure proved futile.

§ 18. ***The Polish Insurrection.***—In 1863 another Polish insurrection broke out. The Poles were still dreaming of independence, and, in spite of the liberal measures of the Tsar, manifestations in the streets and churches of Warsaw were frequent. Alexander was ready to grant concessions, and the Marquis Wielopolsky, a Pole, was nominated minister of public instruction. The discontent, however, continued. A secret committee was formed, and the insurrection spread all over the country. Mouravyef, governor of the Western Provinces, ruled with great severity, and was nicknamed the butcher of Vilna. France, England, and Austria asked the Russian Government to put a stop to the troubles in Poland in a conciliatory manner. Gortshakof, minister of foreign affairs, sent a reply, which implied that Russia would not admit foreign intervention in her home affairs, and this attitude the Russian Government has adopted ever since. In 1864 the insurrection was quelled, and Poland lost the last vestiges of her independence. The Russian language was introduced in all schools and at the University of Warsaw, and became obligatory in all official documents.

§ 19. ***Expansion of Russia.***—In the meantime Russia was advancing steadily in Central Asia. Turkestan, Khokand, Samarkand, Bokhara, and Khiva were annexed. In 1858 General Mouravyef signed a treaty with China by which Russia acquired the left bank of the River Amour, and Vladivostock was founded. In 1877 the Turko-Russian war broke out. Alexander espoused the cause of the Slavonic Christians. The Russians fought under Todleben, who had distinguished himself during the siege of Sebastopol, under Skobelef, and Gourko. The Russians crossed the Balkans, a feat which has been compared to that of Suvarof crossing the Alps, and entered Sofia. The siege of Plevna has become famous for the bravery shown and for the atrocities committed. On the 3rd of March the treaty of San Stefano was signed;

by this the independence of Servia and Roumania was declared. The latter received the Dobrudsha by way of compensation for the part of Bessarabia which Russia had lost in 1856, and which was now returned to her. Servia and Montenegro received additions, and a new principality under the name of Bulgaria was constituted as a vassal state of Turkey. This preliminary treaty was partly modified by the treaty of Berlin, by which Montenegro was deprived of part of her acquisitions and Bulgaria was divided. One portion, between the Danube and the Balkans, was given autonomy under Turkish suzerainty, whilst another, south of the Balkans, remained a Turkish dependency, without any political autonomy, under the name of Eastern Roumelia. Austria was authorised to exercise a protectorate over Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Russia thus acquired an inadequate compensation for her struggle. Bismarck and Lord Beaconsfield were rightly afraid of Russia's expansion and of her influence in Europe. Russia has never forgotten this interference of Beaconsfield, and her grudge against England is still fresh.

In spite of Alexander's liberal measures and many reforms, Nihilist plots were frequent, and many attempts were made to assassinate the Tsar. On the 9th of March Alexander signed an act granting Russia a kind of constitution. It was to be published in a few days. On the 13th he was killed by a hand-bomb on the bank of the Catherine Canal. Kibalchitsh, Ryssakof, Sophia Perovskaya, and two others were hanged a few weeks afterwards. Alexander was married to the Princess of Hesse-Darmstadt, and his second son, Alexander, succeeded him.

§ 20. ***Alexander III.*** (1881-1894).—During his reign all the reforms of his father were abandoned, and an era of reaction commenced. No war troubled Russia's external peace, but in the country the discontent increased. Nihilist plots and massacres of the Jews—there is always a connection between the two—were frequent. Austria, Germany, and Italy formed the Triple Alliance, and friendly relations were established between France and Russia. The French fleet,

under Admiral Gervais, visited Cronstadt in 1891, and the Russian fleet, under Admiral Avellan, visited Toulon, and an enthusiastic reception was accorded to the Russian officers in Paris. The Siberian railway was inaugurated in 1894. The Russification of the Western Provinces, commenced under Nicholas and discontinued by Alexander II., was again attempted. The University of Dorpat was Russianised, and in 1890 it had to conduct its course in Russian. Alexander III. married Dagmar, a sister of Queen Alexandra. The Emperor, whose health had been failing for some time, expired in Livadia, in the Crimea, on the 1st of November 1894. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Nicholas II.

CHAPTER XIV

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

Russia during the Period of Appanages

§ 1. ***The Prince—The Droosheena.***—Even a brief sketch of Russian history would be incomplete without a few remarks on some of Russia's political and social institutions. During the period of appanages the highest power was vested in the person of the Prince (Knyaz). He governed his principality or province, commanded the army in person, and administered justice. The different princes of the house of Rurik recognised one among them as the eldest, or the Great Prince (Velyky Knyaz), which title became the source of rivalry and civil war. The Princes of Kief enjoyed this privilege, as a rule, until they had to yield to their more powerful rivals during the Mongol dominion. The Prince was surrounded by his retinue, or *droosheena*, which consisted of his fellow-warriors, native or foreign. Up to the eleventh century the *droosheena* was recruited exclusively from among the Varangians. The princes passed their life in the company of their *droosheena*, or followers; they consulted them

on every occasion, judged the people in conjunction with them, went to war with them, and took part in their carousals. The *droosheena* was divided into the elder, or the boyarins,[1] and the younger, or the children of the boyarins. Altogether it was an institution similar to the German *Comitatus* or *Geleit*.[2]

§ 2. ***Smerdi—Peasants.***—The mass of the ancient population consisted of the urban inhabitants and of the villagers, both known under the common appellation of *Smerdi*, who were obliged to pay a tribute to the Prince, and to provide a military contingent in time of war. The princes usually considered the principality over which they ruled as their patrimony, and distributed parts of it among the members of their retinue. The result was that the rural inhabitants gradually fell into a state of dependency, and were compelled to pay very heavy tributes to their masters. Yet these peasants, or rural inhabitants, still enjoyed personal freedom; they could leave their district and settle elsewhere. This migration was the more easily effected as there was plenty of unoccupied land in Russia. Besides these free peasants there was another class, that of the *kholopy*, or serfs, who had no personal freedom, and were bound to the soil.

§ 3. ***Justice—The Clergy.***—Justice, as has been observed, was administered by the Prince himself. Often, however, he sent his representatives, or *tiouni*, in his stead. The courtyard of the princely habitation usually served as a court of justice.

The clergy were, and still are, divided into the White, or Country Priests, and the Black Clergy, or Monks. The hierarchy of the Russian Church was modelled after that of Byzantium. The head of the Russian Orthodox Church (*Pravoslavnaya tzerkof*) was the Metropolitan, who was under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople. After the Mongol invasion, the Metropolitan transferred his place of residence from Kief to Vladimir, on the Klyazma, and thence to Moscow.

[1] *Boyar* or *bolyar*, great, illustrious.

[2] *Cf.* M. Kovalevsky, *Russian Political Institutions*, p. 1[illegible].

§ 4. ***Monasteries.***—Together with Christianity, Monasticism, in its Byzantine form, made its entry into Russia. The pious princes granted special privileges to the monasteries and the monks, and often made them presents of large tracts of land. This example was followed by many boyarins, and the monasteries soon began to flourish and to acquire wealth. During the Mongol period their number increased. The most famous monasteries in ancient Russia were the following:—The Pestshersky Monastery of Kief, established in the eleventh century; the Troitzky Monastery, and the Byeloozersky Monastery, established in the fourteenth century. Among the monks of the Pestshersky Monastery was Nestor, who became an inmate at the age of seventeen.

Russia since the Establishment of Autocracy

§ 5. ***The Tsar—The Nobility—Myestnitshestvo.***—With the rise of Moscow and the establishment of autocracy, the Tsar took the place of the Velyky Knyaz, and became the sole ruler and autocrat of the Russian State. He is the absolute master, and his power over his subjects is unlimited. He is surrounded by a numerous Court. In the 16th century the nobility in the Court of Moscow consisted of the princes, with appanages, who recognised the suzerainty of Moscow, of the boyarins, and of the voyevodes, or generals. The smaller nobility were known under the name of *dvoryane*. The scribes, or clerks, who directed the administrative machinery, were called the *dyaki*. All these distinctions among the different classes of the nobility were strictly maintained. Thus the son of a man whose father had been a boyarin would not consent to sit at table, or serve under a noble who belonged to a lower rank. This right was known as the *myestnitshestvo*, or the right of the later generations to maintain the rank gained by their ancestors, by the holding of a certain office. Feodore Alexeevich put an end to these pretensions by ordering that all the documents relating to these controversies be burned.

§ 6. ***The Peasants.—Serfdom.***—The rest of the population consisted of the *posadskie*, or urban inhabitants, merchants, or professional men, and of the krestyane, or serfs. Towards the end of the sixteenth century the free peasants had lost their right to leave the land and to seek service of another master. They were bound to the soil, were completely enslaved, and put under the same condition as the kholopy, or serfs. At the end of the sixteenth century the nobles were already selling the krestyane like goods and cattle.

§ 7. ***The Douma.—The Sobors.***—The highest government organisation was the *douma* of the boyarins, or the privy council of the Tsar. Not every nobleman was admitted to a seat in the douma. This privilege was accorded only to certain families. On special occasions the Tsars convoked the great council of the realm, the Zemsky Sobor, or the great Zemskaya douma. It consisted of delegates not only from the higher nobility and clergy, but also from among the burghers.[1] The first Sobors are mentioned under Ivan IV. In 1598 a Sobor was called to choose a new Tsar on the extinction of the house of Rurik. Mikhail Feodorovich and Alexis Mikhailovich also called the Sobors, but afterwards this practice was abandoned.

§ 8. ***The Clergy.—The Patriarchate.***—When Constantinople fell into the hands of the Moslems, there was a desire in Russia to gain an independent position for the Orthodox Church. In 1589 the Patriarchate was established in Moscow. The office of Patriarch was abolished in 1700 by Peter the Great. Peter also remodelled the Russian nobility, introducing the *Tshin*, or gradation of ranks. The nobility was thus based upon official duties and Imperial service. Peter arranged the urban inhabitants into guilds. He did nothing, however, for the peasants or krestyane; on the contrary, he strengthened serfdom. It was left for Alexander II. to emancipate the enslaved millions. It is left for future Russian rulers to abolish many other political institutions under which the country is still suffering.

[1] *Cf.* Kovalevsky, *ibid.*, p. 42 ff.

APPENDIX I

Chief Events in Russian History in Chronological Order.

862 Foundation of the Russian State by Rurik.
862 Cyril and Methodius visit Moravia.
912 Oleg concludes peace with the Greeks.
944 Igor concludes peace with the Greeks.
957 Olga's voyage to Constantinople. She embraces Christianity.
988 Vladimir introduces Christianity into Russia.
1015 Death of Vladimir.
1019-1054 Yaroslaf.
1050 The Pestshersky Monastery of Kief.
1056 The Ostromir Gospels.
1073 Nestor comes to the Pestshersky Monastery.
1097 The Congress of Lyoubetzk.
1113-1125 Vladimir Monomachus.
1147 First mention of Moscow.
1169 Kief conquered by Andrew Bogolyoubsky.
c. 1200 First appearance of the Lithuanians in history.
1224 The invasion of the Tartars. The battle of the Kalka.
1238 Batu invades Russia.
1240 Alexander Nevsky. Battle of the Neva.
1240 Batu ransacks Kief.
1245 Voyage of Plano Carpini.
1299 The Metropolitan of Kief removes his residence to Vladimir on the Klyazma.
1300-1310 Pereyaslavl, Mojaysk and Kolomna are added to Moscow.

1303 Death of Daniel, son of Alexander Nevsky, and founder of the Principality of Moscow.
1320 Little Russia and Kief fall to Lithuania.
1326 The Metropolitan Peter removes his residence to Moscow.
1328-1341 Ivan Kalita, Prince of Moscow.
1341-1353 Simeon Gordy (the Proud).
1346 The Moscow Kreml.
1350 The black death.
1362-1389 Dimitry Donskoy.
1380 Battle of Koulikovo Polé.
1382 Invasion of Tokhtamysh.
1386 Lithuania and Poland united.
1389-1425 Vasily Dimitrievich.
1395 Invasion of Tamerlane.
c. 1400 Slóvo o pólkou Igorevyou.
1425-1462 Basil the Blind.
1439 The Council of Florence. The Union.
1448 The Russian Church independent of Byzantium.
1462-1505 Ivan III.
1472 Ivan marries the Greek Princess Zoe.
1479 Novgorod annexed to Moscow.
1480 The Ouspensky Sobor in Moscow.
1480 Overthrow of the Tartar dominion.
1482 Tver and Rostof acquired by Moscow.
1497 Ivan issues his Soudebnik.
1499 Compilation of the Bible from Slavonic translations.
1505-1533 Vasily Ivanovich.
1510 Acquisition of Pskof.
1516-1518, 1526-1527 Herberstein in Russia.
1521 Invasion of the Crimean Tartars.
1533-1584 Ivan IV., the Terrible.
1547 Ivan takes the title of Tsar.
1548 First printing office in Russia.
1548-1698 The Zemsky Sobors.
c. 1550 The Streltzy.
1551 The Stoglaf.

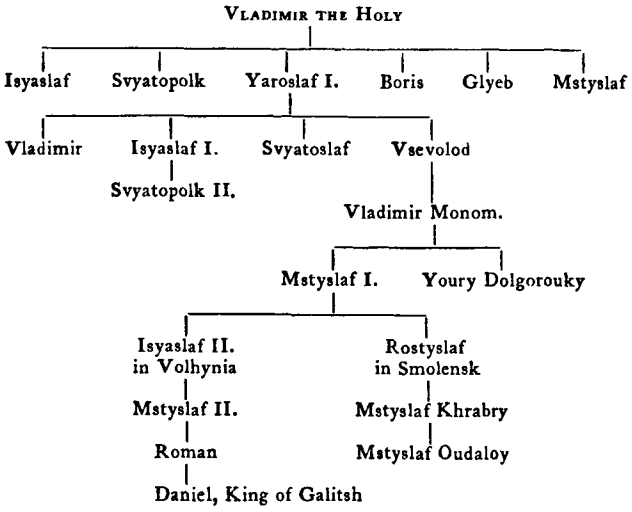
1552 Conquest of Kazan.
1553 The English discover the seaway to Russia.
1554 Conquest of Astrakhan.
1564 The Opritshniky.
1580 Possevino in Russia. Fletcher visits Russia.
1581 The first Slavonic Bible printed at Ostrog.
1582 Conquest of Siberia.
1584 The town of Arkhangelsk founded.
1584-1598 Feodore Ivanovich.
1589 Foundation of the Patriarchate.
1589 Foundation of the Academy at Kief.
1589-1597 Serfdom introduced.
1598-1605 Boris Godunof.
1605-1606 The False Demetrius.
1606-1613 Interregnum.
1613 The accession of the Romanofs.
1613-1645 Michael Feodorovich.
1617 Treaty of Stolbovo.
1618 Treaty of Deulino. Smolensk remains in the hands of the Poles.
1634 Treaty of Polyanovka.
1636 The Cossacks take Azof.
1645-1676 Alexis Mikhailovich.
1649 The Ulozhenie.
1654 Bogdan Khmelnitzky recognised the Tsar. Little Russia annexed.
1667 Truce of Andruzovo between Moscow and Poland.
1671 Stenko Razin.
1672 Peter the Great born.
1676-1682 Feodore Alexeevich.
1689-1725 Peter the Great.
1700-1721 The Northern War.
1703 Foundation of St. Petersburg.
1703 First Russian newspaper.
1722 Treaty of Nystadt. Finland and Carelia acquired.
1724 Academy of Sciences founded.
1711 The Senate established.

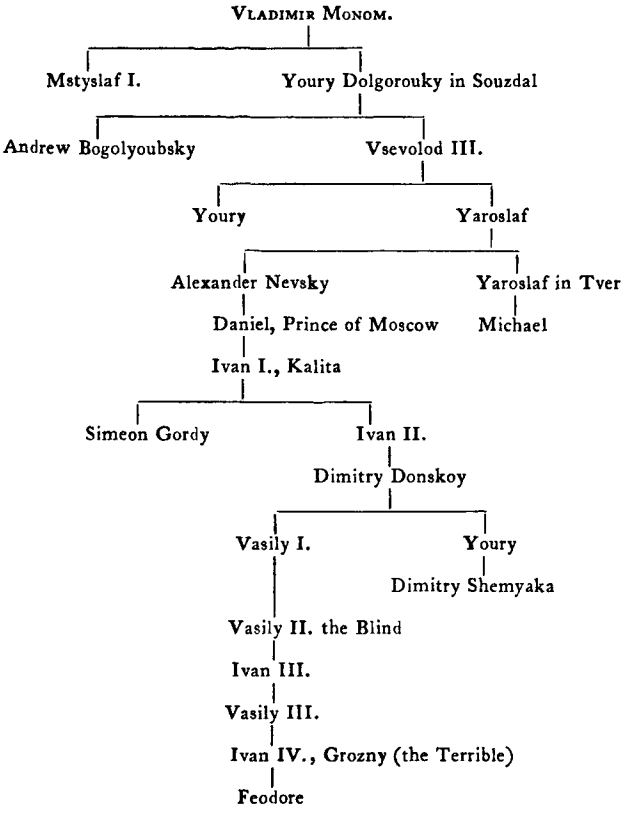
1718 The Secret Chancellery.
1721 The Holy Synod.
1723 Derbent and Baku acquired.
1736-1739 Turkish War.
1743 Treaty of Abo with Sweden. Acquisition of Southern Finland.
1746 Russian theatre established at Yaroslavl.
1754 University of Moscow founded.
1756 Russian theatre at St. Petersburg.
1757 The Academy of Fine Arts at St. Petersburg.
1771 First division of Poland.
1773 Pougatshef.
1774 Treaty with Turkey at Koutshouk-Kaynardji. Russia regains Azof.
1783 The Crimea annexed.
1793 Second division of Poland.
1795 Third division of Poland.
1801 Georgia annexed.
1814 The Congress of Vienna. The Duchy of Warsaw annexed to Russia.
1824 The University of Vilna suppressed.
1825 The insurrection of the Dekabrists.
1828 The Peace of Turkmanshai.
1830 The Polish insurrection.
1854 Siege of Sebastopol.
1856 Treaty of Paris. Part of Bessarabia ceded to Roumania.
1859 Shamyl surrenders. Russia's dominion in the Caucasus.
1861 The emancipation of the Serfs.
1862 Conservatory of St. Petersburg.
1863 Insurrection in Poland.
1864 Pacification of the Caucasus.
1864-1868 Tashkent, Samarcand annexed. Bokhara a dependent State.
1871-1878 Nihilist propaganda.
1873 Khiva a dependent State.
1876 Sakhalin and Khokand annexed.

1877-1878 The Turco-Russian War.
1878 The Treaty of Berlin. Bessarabia returned to Russia.
1884 Merv annexed.
1891 The Siberian Railway.

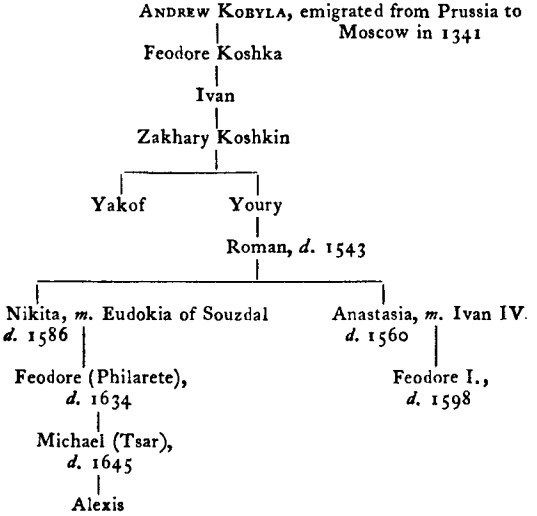
APPENDIX II

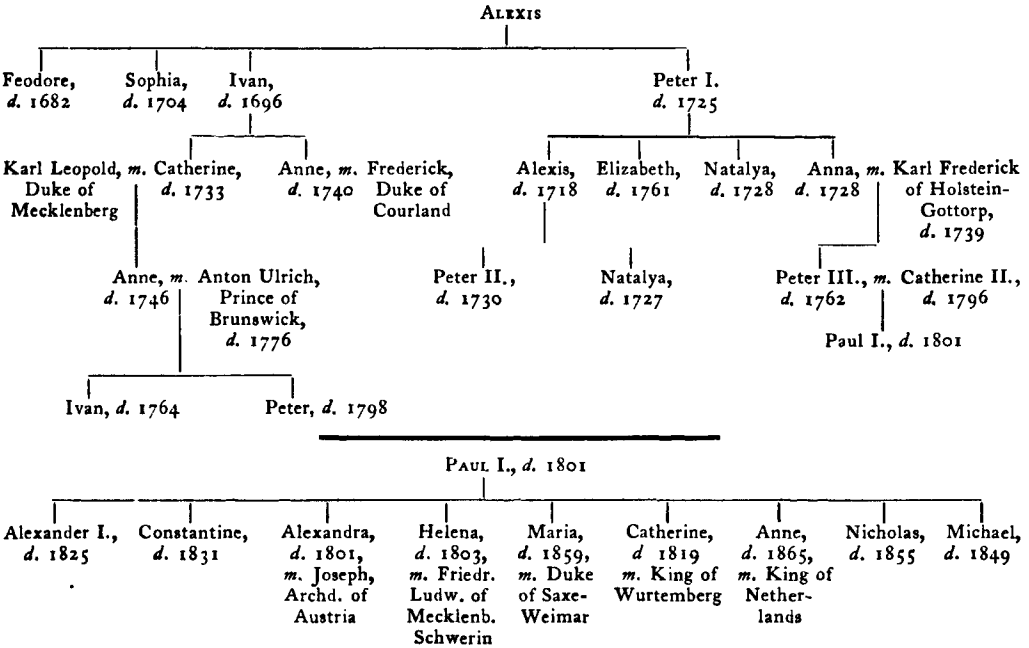
Genealogical Tables

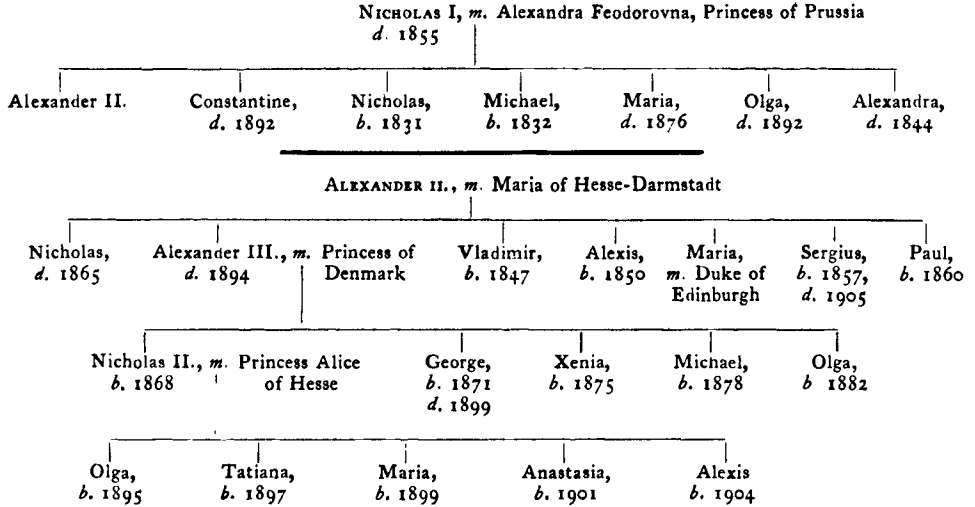



Vladimir Monom.
Mstyslaf I.
Youry Dolgorouky in Souzdal
Andrew Bogolyoubsky
Vsevolod III.
Youry
Yaroslaf
Alexander Nevsky
Yaroslaf in Tver
Daniel, Prince of Moscow
Michael
Ivan I., Kalita
Simeon Gordy
Ivan II.
Dimitry Donskoy
Vasily I.
Youry
Dimitry Shemyaka
Vasily II. the Blind
Ivan III.
Vasily III.
Ivan IV., Grozny (the Terrible)
Feodore

GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF ROMANOF




Alexis
Feodore, d. 1682
Sophia, d. 1704
Ivan, d. 1696
Peter I. d. 1725
Karl Leopold, Duke of Mecklenberg
m. Catherine, d. 1733
Anne, m. Frederick, Duke of Courland d. 1740
Alexis, d. 1718
Elizabeth, d. 1761
Natalya, d. 1728
Anna, m. Karl Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp, d. 1739
Anne, m. Anton Ulrich, Prince of Brunswick, d. 1776 d. 1746
Peter II., d. 1730
Natalya, d. 1727
Peter III., d. 1762
m. Catherine II., d. 1796
Paul I., d. 1801
Ivan, d. 1764
Peter, d. 1798
Paul I., d. 1801
Alexander I., d. 1825
Constantine, d. 1831
Alexandra, d. 1801, m. Joseph, Archd. of Austria
Helena, d. 1803, m. Friedr. Ludw. of Mecklenb. Schwerin
Maria, d. 1859, m. Duke of Saxe-Weimar
Catherine, d 1819 m. King of Wurtemberg
Anne, d. 1865, m. King of Nether-lands
Nicholas, d. 1855
Michael, d. 1849


Nicholas I, m. Alexandra Feodorovna, Princess of Prussia
d. 1855
Alexander II.
Constantine, d. 1892
Nicholas, b. 1831
Michael, b. 1832
Maria, d. 1876
Olga, d. 1892
Alexandra, d. 1844
Alexander II., m. Maria of Hesse-Darmstadt
Nicholas, d. 1865
Alexander III., m. Princess of Denmark
d. 1894
Vladimir, b. 1847
Alexis, b. 1850
Maria, m. Duke of Edinburgh
Sergius, b. 1857, d. 1905
Paul, b. 1860
Nicholas II., m. Princess Alice of Hesse
b. 1868
George, b. 1871 d. 1899
Xenia, b. 1875
Michael, b. 1878
Olga, b 1882
Olga, b. 1895
Tatiana, b. 1897
Maria, b. 1899
Anastasia, b. 1901
Alexis b. 1904

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